TOBER 4, 2004

The Nation.

www.thenation.com

$2.95
$3.95 Canada

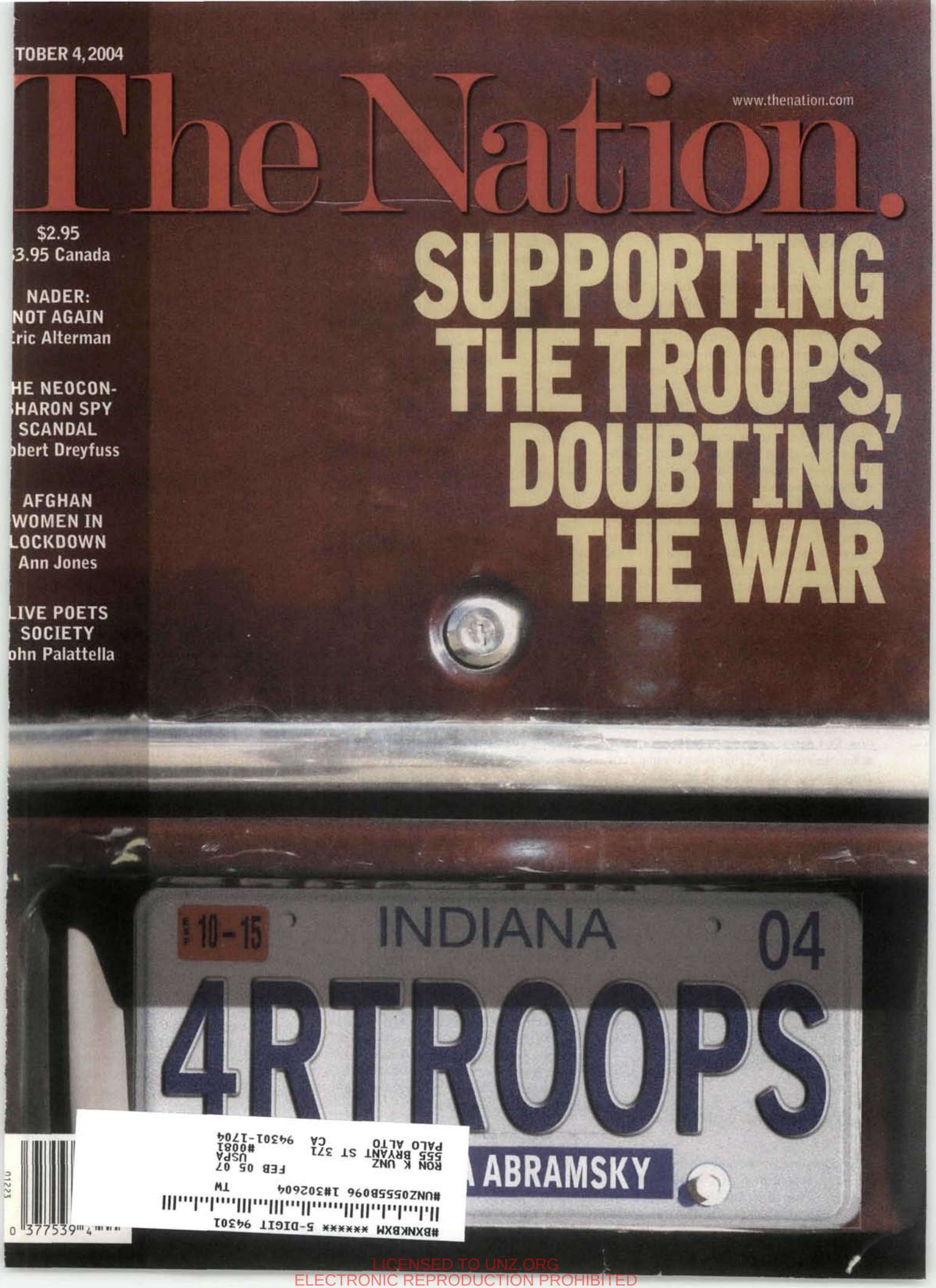
NADER:
NOT AGAIN
Eric Alterman

THE NEOCON-
SHARON SPY
SCANDAL
Robert Dreyfuss

AFGHAN
WOMEN IN
LOCKDOWN
Ann Jones

LIVE POETS
SOCIETY
John Palattella

SUPPORTING THE TROOPS, DOUBTING THE WAR



#BXNKBXM ****** 5-DIGIT 94301
RON K UNZ
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
FEB 05 07
USPA
#0081
#UNZ0555B096 1#3026O4 TW
011223
0 377539 4
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

YO, CANADA!

St. Mary's, Kans.

■ While I agree with Richard Pollak's "Patriot at the Bat" [Sept. 13], on Carlos Delgado's tribulations from his protest against the playing of "God Bless America," one point he neglected, and that has been ignored in other commentaries, is that Toronto is in Canada. Delgado draws his $18 million–plus salary from a Canadian company, patronized overwhelmingly by Canadian fans. This fact, which some of Delgado's critics seem unaware of, makes the accusations of his being un-American somewhat beside the point. Canada has not been a member of the Coalition of the Willing, or the "Coalition of the Idiots," as Carolyn Parrish, a Toronto-area Member of Parliament recently called it. Canadians have no troops in Iraq and reportedly are much more hostile to the United States since the start of the Iraq war. At a Montreal Canadiens game just after the invasion in March 2003, Montreal fans loudly booed the playing of "The Star-Spangled Banner." What is really surprising is that only one player among the several Canadian professional sports teams has taken a stand to protest this stupid war.

CHAS BAYLOR

THE REICH STUFF?

New York City

■ Jonathan Schell's "Letter From Ground Zero" [Aug. 2/9] pinpointed for me the cause of my increasing sense over the past three years that I am living in 1930s Germany. The Bush regime's blithe disregard or erasure of law resembles nothing more than Hitler's, as described by Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. The Nazis did not, she explained, dismantle existing law but merely disregarded it, creating parallel agencies to take over the functions of the old ones, using Nazi guidelines. The populace seemingly did not even notice. Here, people have noticed—at least some people—but we have been almost helpless to stop it. I dislike facile comparisons, and have been uneasy about my increasing feeling that we—Americans—are being taken over by a power hostile to what many of us regard as bedrock principle. Schell has clarified the situation for me. Thanks.

MARILYN FRENCH

SAID & SARTRE ON VIOLENCE

Santa Barbara, Calif.

■ While I welcome Tony Judt's full-bodied and vigorous appreciation of Edward Said ["The Rootless Cosmopolitan," July 19/26], it need not be bought at Sartre's expense. Said's stated and unstated position on violence "toward the ends of justice and in pursuit of realizing humanist values and democratic principles" was in spirit, if not letter, clearly closer to Camus's than to Sartre's. Nonetheless, Sartre's advocacy of political and revolutionary violence was not ill-considered or without some hesitancy—however (in retrospect) wrong-headed and regrettable—as any fine-grained examination of his changing political views over the course of his adult life reveals. Furthermore, Said's "firsthand experience of physical force" can hardly be valorized by way of contrast to Sartre's experience. Both Sartre and de Beauvoir had firsthand experience of personal intimidation, death threats and physical violence, in particular in conjunction with their opposition to French colonialism in Algeria. Sartre's flat at 42 Rue Bonaparte was bombed twice: on July 19, 1961, and January 7, 1962, most likely by the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète. Not without reason does Ronald Hayman's 1987 biography of Sartre have a chapter titled "Kill Sartre." And both Sartre and de Beauvoir participated in demonstrations that involved some measure of personal risk.

PATRICK S. O'DONNELL

JUDT REPLIES

New York City

■ Patrick O'Donnell is quite right: Sartre's flat was indeed attacked, probably by the OAS. But it seems to me disingenuous to compare Sartre's or de Beauvoir's participation in mass public demonstrations, surrounded by thousands of fellow-thinkers and volunteer bodyguards, with Said's decadeslong isolation and exposure to vituperation, aggression and death threats. Sartre could indulge himself in any amount of "regrettable" or "wrong-headed" political misbehavior, secure in the knowledge that he had the protection of the very top levels of the French state. As de Gaulle put it, instructing his colleagues never to respond to Sartre's provocations: "You don't arrest Voltaire." With that kind of assurance from on high, political courage comes cheap.

As for Sartre's incitements to political murder, O'Donnell is probably correct to insist that they were consistent with his broader political ideas. But in that case the contrast with Said is even sharper than I suggested—and reflects little credit on the Frenchman.

TONY JUDT

AS BOLIVIA TURNS...

La Paz, Bolivia

■ As a Bolivian congressman, I was dismayed by Tom Hayden's one-sided June 21 article, "Bolivia's Indian Revolt." His sources are prominent radical and violent leaders: Alvaro Garcia Linera, described as a "former guerrilla and political prisoner," was jailed for such activities as blowing up buildings and power plants, organizing criminal actions, planning guerrilla warfare and exacerbating ethnic tensions. Felipe Quispe is also a convicted terrorist and an outspoken advocate of racist, violent and criminal actions. He has supported lynching and burning people alive, expressed admiration for Shining Path leader Abimael Guzman and asserted after 9/11, "We need actions like that to destroy the enemy. We salute in a fraternal and revolutionary way all who did this."

This biased portrayal based on the accounts of radical and violent leaders ignores the views of most of Bolivia's 8 million peaceful inhabitants. Since the restoration of democracy in 1982, Bolivia has made slow but steady economic and social progress, including for rural Indians. Former President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada was democratically elected in 1993 and 2002. Regrettably, in October 2003 his government was toppled through violent and undemocratic means by a mob-style movement in which Alvaro Garcia, Evo Morales and Felipe Quispe played a key role.

I do not wish to gloss over the many troubles my small, poor country faces; nor do I pretend the Sánchez de Lozada government was perfect. I believe it is the lack of US support instead of its alleged influence that not only contributed to the downfall of our democratically elected government but has put our country at the mercy of radical fundamentalists, financed by people like Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and supported by Cuba's Fidel Castro. Our future lies neither in succumbing to populists' slick promises nor in surrendering to mob rule but in continuing to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions.

LUIS EDUARDO SILES PEREZ
National Representative

Asheville, NC

■ Tom Hayden did not note that the natural gas at the center of Bolivia's upheaval lies in the lowlands, not the Andes; that the president overthrown in October had overwhelming support in those lowlands (as did his suspended plans to export natural gas); that the *cocalero* leader Evo Morales and other more radicalized Andean leaders not only have minuscule support in the lowlands but are generally viewed with outright hostility there; and that the demographic and economic center of the nation is shifting eastward—again, toward the lowlands. The rebellions in the highland streets of La Paz and Cochabamba were viewed with dismay in the lowland streets of Santa Cruz de la Sierra

(Continued on Page 19)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED SEPTEMBER 15 VOLUME 279, NUMBER 10

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 COMMAND OF THE TRUTH

4 ELECTION MATTERS
Eclipsed
William Greider

6 TAKING LIBERTIES
Ashcroft: 0 for 5,000
David Cole

8 LETTER FROM GROUND ZERO
Organizing Amnesia
Jonathan Schell

20 AGENTS OF INFLUENCE
Robert Dreyfuss

22 SECURITY FOR SALE
Micah L. Sifry and Nancy Watzman

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
The Texas Air National Guard, Ca. 1968...
Calvin Trillin

9 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
All Creatures Great and Small
Patricia J. Williams

10 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
Bush's Useful Idiot
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

11 SUPPORTING THE TROOPS, DOUBTING THE WAR
Iraq is changing lives and political sentiments in a small Midwest town.
Sasha Abramsky

16 LETTER FROM POLAND
Bush has managed to puncture Poles' image of America as essentially good.
David Ost

18 LETTER FROM AFGHANISTAN
The strange story of the Herati shelter girls shows the limits of "liberation."
Ann Jones

BOOKS & THE ARTS

23 GIOIA: Disappearing Ink: Poetry at the End of Print Culture
LONGENBACH: The Resistance to Poetry
ZAGAJEWSKI: A Defense of Ardor
PHILLIPS: Coin of the Realm: Essays on the Life and Art of Poetry
John Palattella

26 DUBOIS: Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution
DUBOIS: A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804
Robin Blackburn

32 FILMS
The Motorcyle Diaries
When Will I Be Loved
Vanity Fair
Stuart Klawans

Cover by Gene Case and Stephen Kling/Avenging Angels; illustration by Christoph Niemann

EDITORIALS

Command of the Truth

It's one measure of the decay—and the promise—of American political discourse that Seymour Hersh's *Chain of Command* arrives at a moment when John O'Neill and Jerome Corsi's *Unfit for Command* sits atop the *New York Times* bestseller list. Hersh's book, based largely on his groundbreaking reporting for *The New Yorker*, is an unsparing indictment of the current Administration. It is animated not only by a determination to bring down those ultimately responsible for the torture at Abu Ghraib but by the belief that the government—and the military—will do better if the public demands it. O'Neill and Corsi's book is a compendium of lies and distortions, pandering to the worst instincts of Americans at a time of perceived danger, exploiting the powerful vein of nationalism that pulses through our culture.

Whereas Hersh's subject is the moral corruption of our government, O'Neill and Corsi take aim at one man, John Kerry, who, they say, didn't deserve the medals he received for service in Vietnam. Their implicit premise (shared by the Bush campaign and by its proxy organization, Swift Boat Veterans for Truth) is that dissent in wartime is unpatriotic—that Kerry's real betrayal was in denouncing the war after he came home. In this view, truths must be rejected if they call into question the idea of American innocence—whether revelations by veterans like Kerry in 1971 of widespread US war crimes in Vietnam, or reports of the systemic problem of torture at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo today.

The Bush Administration's strategy has been to promote a culture of denial, in which American abuses are first covered up, then acknowledged with shock and horror, then absorbed and neutralized ("excesses" by a few "rotten apples") and finally forgotten—so that when new scandals surface, a new cycle can begin. To a troubling degree, this strategy has been effective. It hinges on the image of the United States as a nation that enjoys overwhelming military, economic and political power yet is also a nation of victims, in whose defense any amount of aggression is justified. ("We face an enemy that lies in the shadows, an enemy that doesn't sign treaties," declared White House counsel Alberto Gonzales as the torture scandal peaked.) The White House's Abu Ghraib damage-control operation was largely directed, Hersh reveals, by Vice President Cheney, and it allowed the Administration to emerge from the scandal relatively unscathed, even though Defense Secretary Rumsfeld personally authorized a covert program whose main purpose was to circumvent the Geneva Conventions and allow for the torture of terrorist suspects.

And yet, for all the potency of its appeals to nationalism and the viciousness of its counterattacks, the Bush team has not succeeded in silencing its critics or in allaying the public's growing doubts about its conduct of the war in Iraq. In Sasha Abramsky's article, on page 11, about Shelbyville, Indiana, the voices of conservative military families are taut with anger at the Administration. As one mother said, "I don't appreciate what they've done to our boys, what they've done to families...and the situation we're in because of what they're deciding and how they're directing."

Tapping into that well of anger would seem natural for an antiwar candidate with Kerry's military credentials. Unfortunately, Kerry is not an antiwar candidate, one reason why so much campaign debate has focused on what the candidates were doing during Vietnam, instead of what the United States is doing in Iraq. As chaos and carnage force Iraq back into the headlines, Kerry has another chance to combat the culture of denial and lies that has defined Bush's campaign and his war. Let's hope he takes it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Hillary Frey
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Shane Goldmacher (*Washington*), Lucia Green-Weiskel, Demetra Kasimis, Mark W. Lotto, Carmina Ocampo, Katherine C. Reilly, Ben Somberg, Stacy Torres

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Gene Santoro; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Inga Knets
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Jane Sharples
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRINT COORDINATOR: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form.
E-mail is preferred, but letters to the editor and queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2004 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Eclipsed

ELECTION MATTERS

The presidential pageant has now risen full in the sky and is blocking out the sun. Until November, we dwell in a weird half-light, stumbling into spooky shadows but shielded from the harsh glare of the nation's actual circumstances. Down is up, fiction is truth, momentous realities are made to disappear from the public mind. The 2004 spectacle is not the first to mislead grossly and exploit emotional weaknesses in the national character. But this time the consequences will be especially grim.

The United States is "losing" in Iraq, literally losing territory and population to the other side. Careful readers of the leading newspapers may know this, but I doubt most voters do. How could they, given the martial self-congratulations of the President and relative restraint from his opponent? High-minded pundits tell us not to dwell on the long-ago past. But the cruel irony of 2004 is that Vietnam *is* the story. The arrogance and deceit—the utter waste of human life, ours and theirs—play before us once again. A frank discussion will have to wait until after the election.

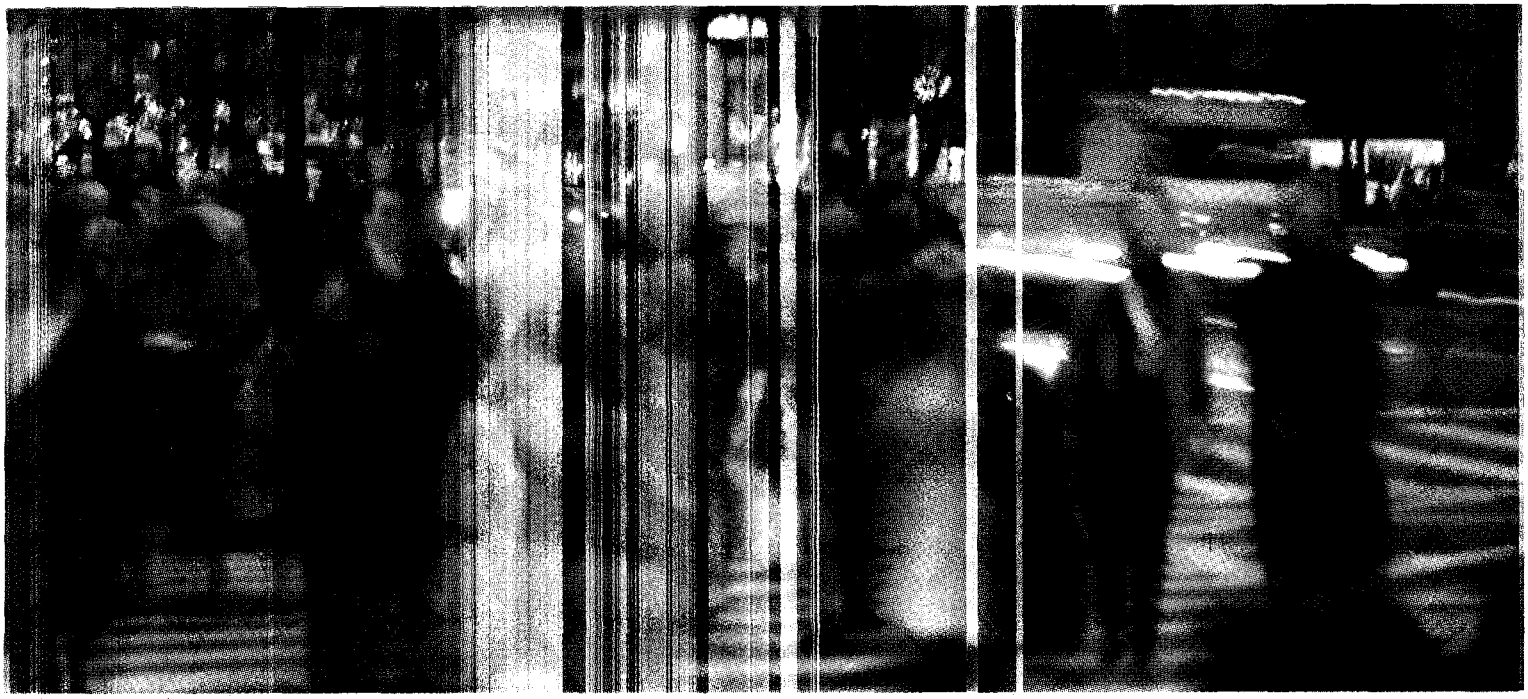
Several Sundays ago, an ominous article appeared in the opinion section of the *New York Times*: "One by One, Iraqi Cities Become No-Go Zones." Falluja, Samarra, Ramadi, Karbala, the Sadr City slums of Baghdad—these and other population centers are now controlled by various insurgencies and essentially ceded by US forces. This situation would make a joke of the national elections planned for January. Yet, if US troops try to recapture the lost cities, the bombing and urban fighting would produce massive killing and destruction, further poisoning politics for the US occupation and its puppet government in Saigon—sorry, Baghdad.

Three days later, the story hit page one when anonymous Pentagon officials confirmed the reality. Not to worry, they said: The United States is training and expanding the infant Iraqi army so it can do the fighting for us. That's the ticket—Vietnamization. I remember how well General Westmoreland articulated the strategy back in the 1960s, when war's progress was measured by official "body counts" and reports on "new" fighting forces on the way.

But this time Washington decided the United States couldn't wait for "Iraqization," a strategy that might sound limp-wristed to American voters. The US bombing and assaults quickly resumed. The Bush White House is thus picking targets and second-guessing field commanders, just as Lyndon Johnson did forty years ago in Indochina. Bush is haunted by the mordant remark a US combat officer once made in Vietnam: "We had to destroy the village in order to save it."

Meanwhile, Bush's war is destroying the US Army, just as LBJ's war did. After Vietnam, military leaders and Richard Nixon wisely abolished the draft and opted for an all-volunteer force. When this war ends, the volunteer army will be in ruins and a limited draft lottery may be required to fill out the ranks. After Iraq, men and women will get out of uniform in large numbers, especially as they grasp the futility of their sacrifices. Yet Bush's on-the-cheap warmaking against a weak opponent demonstrates that a larger force structure is needed to sustain his policy of preemptive war. Kerry says he wants 40,000 more troops, just in case.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE ENGINE THAT DRIVES THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

How the world's largest automaker impacts the world's biggest economy. Every day, nearly one million Americans earn their living helping GM build and sell cars in the United States.

We are your friends and neighbors. Our kids attend the country's schools and universities. Our salaries buy groceries, build homes and find their way back into the American economy in every conceivable manner.

But it doesn't stop there. Every month, nearly a half million retirees and their spouses receive their pension checks from us. Our healthcare plans provide benefits for 1.1 million Americans, which makes General Motors the country's largest private purchaser of healthcare.

Additionally, over the last 5 years, GM has made capital investments of more than $20 billion in the U.S. These investments not only provide growth for our economy, but many of them also provide highly skilled manufacturing jobs here in America.

GM makes vital contributions to the health of the U.S. economy and the well-being of millions of Americans. And most economists will agree that a healthy automotive industry goes a long way towards building a healthy domestic economy.

Our goal has always been to build the best cars and trucks on the road. And we take enormous pride in knowing that it's a road that touches so many lives.

GM

gm.com

CHEVROLET PONTIAC BUICK CADILLAC GMC OLDSMOBILE SATURN HUMMER SAAB

©2004 GM Corp. All rights reserved. The marks of General Motors and its divisions are registered trademarks of General Motors Corporation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Old generals doubt Congress would pay for it, given the deficits.

Iraq is Vietnam standing in the mirror. John Kerry, if he had it in him, could lead a national teach-in—re-educate those who have forgotten or prettified their memories but especially inform younger voters who weren't around for the national shame a generation ago. Kerry could describe in plain English what's unfolding now in Iraq and what must be done to find a way out with honor. In other words, be a truth-teller while holding Bush accountable.

Kerry won't go there, probably couldn't without enduring still greater anger. His war-hero campaign biography inadvertently engendered slanderous attacks and still-smoldering resentments. Kerry, like other establishment Dems, originally calculated that the party should be as pro-war as Bush, thus freeing him to run on other issues. That gross miscalculation leaves him proffering a lame "solution"—persuading France, Germany and others to send their troops into this quagmire. Not bloody likely, as the Brits say.

Bush can't go near the truth for obvious reasons. If elected, he faces only bad choices—bomb the bejeezus out of Iraq, as Nixon bombed Vietnam and Cambodia, or bug out under the cover of artful lies. The one thing Bush's famous "resolve" cannot achieve is success at war. Never mind, he aims to win the election instead.

So this presidential contest resembles a grotesque, media-focused war in which two sides skirmish for the attention of ill-informed voters. Bush won big back when he got Iraq off the front pages and evening news with his phony hand-off of sovereignty and his chest-thumping convention. But then his opponents—the hostile insurgents in Iraq—struck back brilliantly and managed to put the war story back in the lead on the news (might we expect from them an "October surprise" of deadlier proportions?). In this fight, Kerry is like a bystander who might benefit from bad news but can't wish for it. Most combat correspondents, with brave exceptions, hesitate to step back from daily facts and tell the larger truth. Maybe they are afraid to sound partial.

The timing of events in Iraq does not fit propitiously with the election calendar. A majority has already concluded that it was a mistake to fight this war, but public credulity is not yet destroyed. A majority still wants to believe the strategy may yet succeed, that Iraq won't become another dark stain in our history books. During Vietnam, the process of giving up on such wishful thinking took many years. The breaking point came in 1968, when a majority turned against the war. LBJ withdrew from running for re-election. Nixon won that year with his "secret plan" to win the peace. The war continued for another five years. US casualties doubled.

This time, public opinion has moved much faster against the war, but perhaps not fast enough. People naturally are reluctant to conclude that their country did the wrong thing, that young people died for a pointless cause. If the war story does stay hot and high on front pages, a collapse of faith might occur in time for this election, but more likely it will come later. Nixon won a landslide re-election in 1972 with his election-eve announcement that peace was at hand, the troops were coming home. In the hands of skilled manipulators, horrendous defeat can be turned into honorable victory. Temporarily at least. When the enemy eventually triumphed in Indochina, Nixon was already gone, driven out for other crimes.

WILLIAM GREIDER

CALVIN TRILLIN

A Short History of Someone Who Failed to Get Into the Champagne Unit of the Texas Air National Guard in 1968

I wasn't really for the war.
But all my kin, in wars before,
Had gone when called. I couldn't flee.
No, Canada was not for me.
Another thing that I was not
Was someone wanting to get shot.

I thought the Guard would be my out,
But Daddy didn't have the clout
To get me off the waiting list.
He knew no pol who might assist
In putting me above the rest.
With influence we were unblessed.

And movement in the list seemed dead,
As heirs of big shots shot ahead.
So I was called by Uncle Sam,
And made a grunt, and sent to Nam.
I wrote home once, said I was fine.
Then Charlie got me with a mine.

Historians may not recall
My name, now chiseled on that wall.
Still, they might say I played a role
By going on that last patrol
And not returning to my base:
I might have died in Bush's place.

Ashcroft: 0 for 5,000

On September 2 a federal judge in Detroit threw out the only jury conviction the Justice Department has obtained on a terrorism charge since 9/11. In October 2001, shortly after the men were initially arrested, Attorney General John Ashcroft heralded the case in a national press conference as evidence of the success of his anti-terror campaign. The indictment alleged that the defendants were associated with Al Qaeda and planning terrorist attacks. But Ash-

(Continued on Page 20)

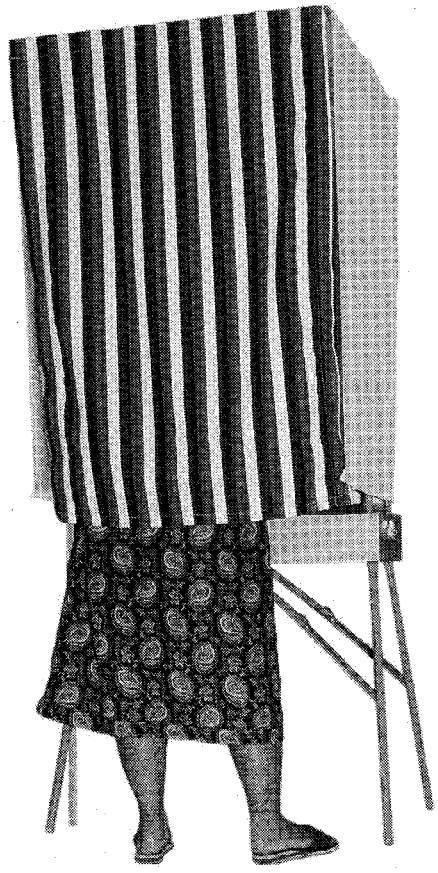
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[WHY U.S. ELECTIONS NEED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS]

Let's imagine America has a thing or two to learn about democracy. *Who do you call?*

The right to vote is the essence of democracy. But things can go wrong. Insecure electronic ballots. Questions about too much money in the campaign system. Even the denial of basic voting rights to millions of citizens.

When democracies in other countries have been in trouble, they've asked for help. That's why Global Exchange has invited high-level election experts from South Africa, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Australia, India, Mexico, Canada, Chile and several other democracies to monitor and report on the fairness of the American electoral process in key states, beginning in September and leading up to Tuesday, November 2.



We don't believe our international friends can solve all our problems. But we trust that honest scrutiny, serious reporting, and thoughtful recommendations from outside experts can help rebuild public trust in our democracy.

The Fair Election campaign is just one of the many innovative projects that Global Exchange has developed since 1988. Working across borders, we're helping build democracies, battle racism and inequality, and evolve a sustainable future.

To learn how you can get involved in the Fair Election project, go to *www.fairelection.us.* To find out more about our other work, visit us at *www.globalexchange.org.*

GLOBAL EXCHANGE

Building people-to-people ties worldwide

TO COMMUNICATE YOUR CONCERNS TO THE ELECTION OBSERVERS, GO TO: WWW.FAIRELECTION.US

www.PublicMediaCenter.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JONATHAN SCHELL

Organizing Amnesia

Why does the United States—born in a people's war for national independence from the greatest empire of its time—have such a difficult time understanding the people's wars of independence of our day? The example before our eyes is of course the failure to plan for or even anticipate the uprising against the American occupation of Iraq. But the error has a far longer history than that, extending at least as far back as a half-century to the failure to understand the roots of Mao Zedong's revolution in China. In the 1940s, the US government had in its ranks officers who reported fully on the rot that pervaded every level of the Chinese government and warned of Mao's success. Notable among them were Gen. Joseph Stilwell and his political adviser, John Service. However, when their warnings proved correct, they were not congratulated; they were absurdly excoriated for supposedly having caused the result. Then many were hounded out of their jobs in a purge of the State Department. Leading the purge was Senator Joseph McCarthy. In the speech in February 1950 that inaugurated his anti-Communist witch-hunts, he announced that he possessed a list of 205 names "known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party, and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy." He singled out Service for mention. The theme of McCarthy's attack against the Democratic Party is worth noting in our day:

> At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction, a shining living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity. The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful, potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation.

The idea that a Republican-led America could dominate the world if only weak-kneed, treacherous Democrats did not stand in the way was also to have a long and rich history.

What stands out in retrospect is not that the US government failed to learn the lessons of the Chinese revolution but that it did learn them (from people like Stilwell and Service) and then energetically and successfully banished them from memory. When the time came to decide whether to step into the shoes of the French colonial rulers in Vietnam, the State Department was left almost devoid of competent Asia hands. The ensuing debacle needs no lengthy rehearsal here: the United States' underestimation of the force of Vietnamese nationalism; its misbegotten reliance on military force to win a struggle whose essential character was political; its consequent destruction of the society it was trying to "save," at a cost of some 3 million lives; its shameful exit by helicopter from the roofs of embassy buildings. Even the politics of the disaster were the same as those after the victory of Mao. Republican bullies drove Democratic cowards into a military policy that in their hearts they knew was unworkable. President Johnson certainly knew it, as his taped conversations show. But he also knew—or believed—from the "who lost China" debate that "losing" Vietnam would be political suicide.

Did the United States learn the lessons this time? Did it finally grasp that being "physically the strongest nation on earth" did not confer unlimited power over other countries, that their peoples were as attached to independence as Americans were, and as ready to fight, and fight effectively, with and without arms, for their independence? For a while, it did. That was the lesson, after all, that every previous empire had had to learn in the twentieth century. The lessons were perhaps absorbed most deeply by the institution most profoundly affected by the war: the military. It vowed never again to enter a war without an "exit strategy" and never again to address militarily objectives that could only be won politically.

But once again the forces of organized amnesia set in. Before long, the Vietnam lessons were renamed the "Vietnam syndrome"—a mental illness. A series of victories over feeble enemies—the Grenadans, the Iraqi forces in the deserts of Kuwait—restored the illusion of omnipotence set forth by McCarthy. President George H.W. Bush even declared after the victory in the first Gulf War, "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome."

The purgation of memory and sense was successful. The United States, ignorance restored, was ready for the next debacle, this time in Iraq. Once again the likelihood and strength of popular resistance, fusing nationalism with ideology (now, religious ideology), is being overlooked. Once again wiser people in the State Department have been stiff-armed by the Pentagon. Once again—in Najaf, in Falluja, in Tal Afar—the United States is destroying cities to save them. Once again, military successes are leading to political defeat. Once again, Republicans are bullying and Democrats are caving.

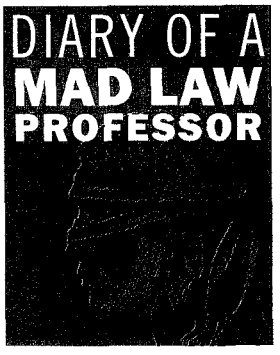
The case of John Kerry is especially poignant, as well as potentially tragic for the country. As a soldier, he learned the lessons of Vietnam as deeply as any American. He fought the war, he protested the war. For him to forget its lessons is forgetfulness indeed. And there is every reason to believe—though I admit it cannot be proven—that it was done for the same compelling reasons that inspired Harry Truman to purge the State Department and Lyndon Johnson to dig himself deeper into Vietnam. In order to get a hearing in a discussion so thoroughly steeped in fantasy, Kerry must have felt he had to buy halfway into the lie. He, too, played the old game of co-opting the Republicans by halfheartedly adopting their cause. He voted to authorize war. At his convention, he crisply saluted the assembly of ardently antiwar delegates, who, too clever for their own good, roared their approval. He then reaffirmed his vote to authorize the war. Like so many Democrats before them, members of his party are torn between the truths they know and the delusions that, they imagine, are politically necessary—delusions that have been laid down now, layer after layer, for more than fifty years.

Jonathan Schell is the Harold Willens Peace Fellow at the Nation Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

All Creatures Great and Small



It was an odd dream: The Bush twins were ten feet tall and peering in my window. They were snickering. "We had a hamster too..." they were saying, as though it were the merriest of threats. They were too close, too manic, too happy. "Let's just say that ours didn't make it," they concluded.

I woke up frightened, the sound of their ominous giggling trailing in my head.

This is a silly dream, I know. And in writing about it here, I have no wish to impute to the daughters my apprehensions about the father. But since the entire presidential campaign seems to be operating at the level of psychic symbols rather than material issues, I want to analyze it anyway. The dream captured precisely my fear of our iconic cowboy Commander in Chief, this Daddy Dearest who's too much of a he-man to do more for a hamster than consider its fur-to-red-meat ratio before taking decisive action to put it out of its pain.

These past several weeks have left me worried about the status of all us herbivores—"salad-eaters," we were called during the Republican National Convention. They have been so packed with horror that I am left giddy with raw anxiety about the future. The attack on the children in Beslan, Russia, embodied the extreme ideological intransigence that governs so much of the world: the barbarous Pied Pipers who rounded up all the children of that town and entombed them, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rigid, reckless determination of Russian authorities to attack rather than talk or "show weakness," even when there were hundreds of little ones' lives on the line.

Within the same few weeks, Mark Thatcher (Margaret's son), and Simon Mann, founder of the band of corporate mercenary soldiers called Executive Outcomes, were indicted for trying to overthrow the government of Equatorial Guinea. Meanwhile, newspapers in the European Union noted that US troops were being pulled out of Germany and many of them redeployed to Africa—with no publicity, it was observed. I have searched in vain for some corroboration of this in American newspapers. If true, it worries me, because so many of the world's wars seem to be most heated along the path of hoped-for oil pipelines, and months ago, long before Colin Powell declared the war in Sudan to be genocide, there were news reports that Chad and Sudan would be the site of new pipelines designed to skirt the better-known hot spots in the Middle East.

Recently we memorialized the sad milestone of a thousand American soldiers killed in Iraq. Less remarked were the more quickly accumulating deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqis, the uptick in beheadings and the revelation of more abuses in Guantánamo Bay. More prominent were the crazy-making contradictions flowing from the White House: A vote for Kerry means that the terrorists will strike again. Vote for Bush because the terrorists are going to strike again anyway. A vote for Kerry means that the danger will increase. Vote for Bush because the danger is increasing all the time. Oh and by the way, we've never been safer.

I'm also worried because I don't see anything on the horizon likely to engender a laying down of arms anytime soon, domestically or globally. The increasing mayhem merely reinforces the idea that "they" hate us—whoever "they" are. The hyped inevitability of round-the-clock terror seems to have muted criticism of Congress's failure to renew the assault weapons ban. One hears lots about how we won the cold war, even as more and more of our citizens have gleefully taken to Soviet-style practices like spying on neighbors and embracing a police state as long as they get to be the police. Meanwhile, there is no excuse I can think of other than partisanship—New York is too close to France?—for Congress's refusal to allocate Homeland Security dollars according to actual risk of attack.

In the media there are discussions of not merely fingerprinting all comers to the United States but requiring DNA samples as well, an idea that will surely become a domestic issue in short order. Indeed, in Britain the police are already pushing the possibilities to new and greater extremes. A few months ago, the *Guardian* reported that in pursuing a serial rapist in South London, a senior detective sent a letter urging black men in the area to submit to DNA testing. "Consider that the suspect is likely to refuse to provide a voluntary sample; catching him will be far easier if he is the only one.... I will be reviewing the circumstances surrounding your refusal and will notify you of my decision. In the meantime I would ask you to reconsider the request." The *Guardian* went on to note that in investigating the case, police "identified 21,000 'persons of interest.' Around 1,400 are believed to have been specifically targeted."

I don't know if the battles we are fighting are primarily motivated by the quest for oil, for land, for religion or for high moral ground. But oil is surely implicated to some degree, and our dependence on it ought not to remain a driving force behind our social policy, our morality, our wars. Releasing ourselves from this dependence is worth the effort, even if it will require a massive reordering of the way we conduct our lives; even if it will require a massive infusion of resources into the technologies of renewable energy; even if it will require a generation of enhanced public education and science training. This won't be easy, but it is certainly more attainable and less flammable a proposition, less corrosive of our global standing and global order, than setting a match to the Middle East, Africa and broad swaths of Asia in the pursuit of more pipelines.

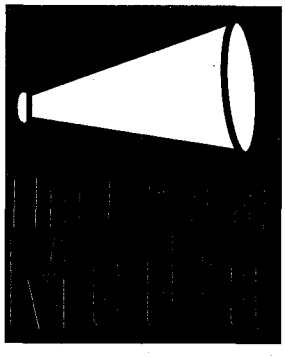
We have just endured the heartwrenching anniversary of September 11. As I listened to the parents of the victims list the names of their loved ones, I prayed fervently that we do not use their memory to fuel an endless blood feud. We need restraint in our leadership, as well as bravery. We need concern for all who are in danger, not just our own children. On all sides, the sad litany is the same: "And my son... And my son... And my son... My beautiful daughter... My child... We love you, we miss you."

We need leaders who promise us not the "endlessness" of this madness but a path toward resolution. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

Bush's Useful Idiot



Four years ago, Ralph Nader justified his third-party campaign on the grounds that the two parties represented nothing more than "Tweedledum and Tweedledee." As Americans die by the thousand in Iraq, the budget deficit explodes thanks to a tax cut targeting the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans, the Justice Department demands women's private medical records from abortion clinics, and polluters are given carte blanche to despoil the earth and poison our children, the devastating evidence of Nader's myopia is everywhere around us.

Recall also that four years ago, Nader professed to want to help build the Green Party into a genuinely progressive alternative to what he termed the corporate-dominated "duopoly." But Nader was no more truthful about his commitment to party-building than George W. Bush was when he decried "nation-building." Today, Nader's party allies consist mainly of the motley far-right collection of Republicans who fund his campaign and collect his signatures, and the remains of the nativist Reform Party, late of Pat Buchanan's presidential campaign.

It's true that Nader once represented an important progressive voice in American politics; then again, so did Norman Podhoretz, David Horowitz and Christopher Hitchens. While Nader continues to employ the same rhetoric as before, this speaks merely to his personal self-delusion and shameless demagoguery. He also appears to be a rather brazen liar. "We have not been accepting signatures obtained through organized Republican Party efforts in the three or four states where we have learned of such activity," he insisted in a September *Washington Post* op-ed. In fact, as the *Detroit Free Press* reported a day earlier, 45,000 of the 50,500 petition signatures submitted on Nader's behalf in Michigan were indeed submitted by Republicans. (Meanwhile, in Florida, Nader's ballot access lawyer is one Kenneth Sukhia, who just happened to represent Bush in that state's 2000 recount.)

While Nader, with characteristic obliviousness, refuses to accept any responsibility for the horrors of the Bush Administration, Ronnie Dugger, who presented Nader four years ago at the Green Party convention, admits, "We, the Nader people, certainly put Bush close enough electorally for the Supreme Court to seize the presidency for him." Giving up on talking sense to Nader personally, many of his big-name 2000 supporters have joined together to oppose his current candidacy. Among the seventy-four members of the "113-person Nader 2000 Citizens Committee" who've signed a statement urging support for Kerry/Edwards in all swing states this year are: Phil Donahue, Jim Hightower, Susan Sarandon, Noam Chomsky, Barbara Ehrenreich, Howard Zinn and Cornel West. Indeed, Nader is without a single high-profile supporter anywhere this time around. And he has added to his list of enemies what he terms the "liberal intelligentsia": those he defines as concerned with his issues but willing to accept "the least worst option."

Four years ago, writing in these pages about Nader's "nascent leftist movement," I pointed out that it enjoyed "virtually no support among African-Americans, Latinos or Asian-Americans. It has no support among organized feminist groups, organized gay rights groups or mainstream environmental groups. To top it all off, it has no support in the national union movement. So Nader and company are building a nonblack, non-Latino, non-Asian, nonfeminist, nonenvironmentalist, nongay, non–working people's left: Now that really would be quite an achievement." I could have added Jews, too.

Today Nader has managed to top even that accomplishment. This time he is actively hated by the leaders of the dispossessed to whom he professes his allegiance. On June 22, for instance, Nader met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus in a session that ended with shouting, cursing and several members walking out in a state of fury. When it was over, Texas Representative Sheila Jackson Lee told CNN, "This is the most historic election of our lifetime, and it is a life-or-death matter for the vulnerable people we represent. For that reason, we can't sacrifice their vulnerability for the efforts being made by Mr. Nader."

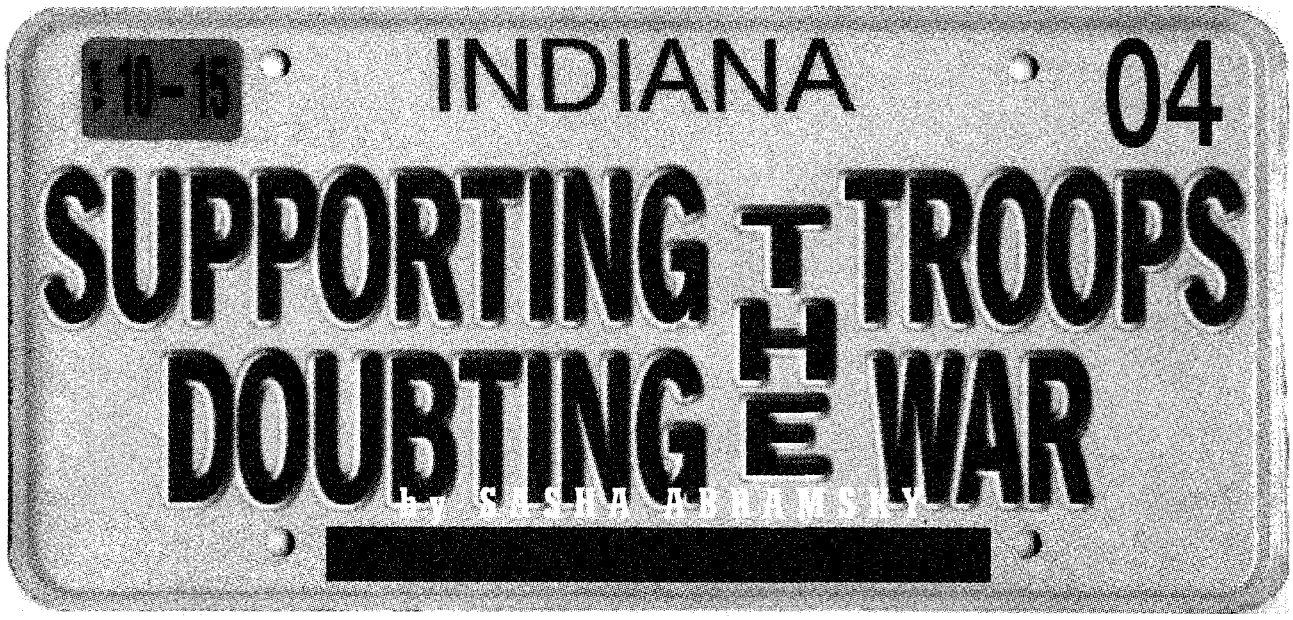
Pragmatic concerns carried no weight in what was essentially a Leninist campaign in 2000, based as it was on Nader's belief that things needed to get much worse before they could begin to get better. When Nader claimed a Bush victory would help energize groups like the Sierra Club, its leader, Carl Pope, loudly told him, No thanks. When I debated Cornel West and Frances Fox Piven before a large audience at NYU, our introductions were preceded by a plea from graduate student union organizers to support their efforts to elicit decent pay and conditions. I tried to point out that those students who supported both Nader and the union might wish to concern themselves with the makeup of the presidentially appointed National Labor Relations Board. Well, in July of this year, the graduate students who stuck with Nader got what they apparently wanted. The Bush-controlled NLRB voted to reverse an earlier decision and deny all American graduate students the right to bargain collectively.

Despite all of this, as I write, Nader is actually polling higher than the 2.74 percent of Americans who provided the votes for his 2000 kamikaze mission—high enough to tip key swing states toward the single worst President in American history. What in God's name will convince Nader's remaining supporters to abandon his lemminglike march? It's hard to imagine what kind of logic will resonate with people who define themselves as leftists and yet remain unmoved by the sight of George Bush and Dick Cheney lying us into war, John Ashcroft attempting to criminalize dissent and Donald Rumsfeld rationalizing rape and torture.

If anyone has any ideas, let's hear them, please, and fast. In the meantime, can the media please stop assuming that this Republican-funded, nativist-supported and Bush/Cheney–enabling campaign is somehow deserving of the label "liberal"? Are our problems not large enough that we must also be saddled with the sins of our enemies? ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES



DOUBTING THE WAR

by SASHA ABRAMSKY

Anna Deen is 39 years old, good-looking, with light brown hair, a pink halter-top and a pin on her right lapel. The pin has a photograph of a young man with a military hard hat on his head. Above the photo are the words "My Hero."

Deen works as a program coordinator at the Salvation Army in the small town of Shelbyville, Indiana. The man in the photograph is her son, Kevin. He is 20 years old, a communications specialist currently stationed in Iraq. He is in the Army because, when he was 17, his mother gave him an ultimatum: Either do better in school, or she was calling the recruiters. He chose the Army, went through basic training in Georgia, was stationed in Germany and, from there, was shipped off to Iraq.

"I know my son's there for a reason," Deen says fiercely. "And whatever might happen, that's the way it's supposed to be. And if I took it any other way, I'd be in a funny farm. I wouldn't be here able to talk about it."

Shelbyville is a very ordinary town. Thirty-two miles southeast of downtown Indianapolis, it has a population with an age distribution similar to that of the country as a whole, and with a median household income ($36,824, according to the 2000 Census) just south of the national average—which in practice means that it has a fairly affluent upper middle class and a large number of blue-collar workers and retirees struggling to pay their bills, worried about their health insurance and pension benefits, concerned about the loss of jobs through NAFTA and trying not to end each month further in the red. It's an unostentatious, conservative, bedroom-community town, with a population just shy of 18,000, whiter than most but otherwise a pretty representative slice of small-town Middle America.

Shelbyville has dozens of churches, many of them fundamentalist, dotting its back streets, and a handful of mediocre restaurants, fast-food outlets and taverns with Bud/Coors/Miller on tap. Its population is not terribly political or outspoken, but the residents care deeply—in a traditional hard-work-and-duty sense—about town and country. The town's motto is "Pride in Progress." It has none of the in-your-face urban poverty of Gary, Indiana, or the glitz of a city like Los Angeles. Many of the houses, most wooden, some brick, are extremely large (three-story behemoths in the 5,000-square-foot region); but almost all of them sell for under $200,000. The more modest houses are still generally of a decent size, although they show signs of stress, with flaking paint, crumbling porches, gates askew. There's a Wal-Mart Supercenter on the edge of town and a host of nervous mom-and-pop business owners fearful they'll be driven out by its presence. And there are a lot of factories nearby that produce a variety of car parts for the large automobile companies.

The town's businessmen, their stores and banks and restaurants located on Harrison Street and the east-west streets that intersect it on either side of the unimaginatively named "Public Square" (a small parking lot with a green bronze statue of a man holding two wolf cubs aloft, a nondescript water fountain and sixteen trees ringing its perimeter), belong to the Masons, the Knights of Columbus or one of the other lodges in town. Blue-collar Joes and Janes take out membership in the large Eagles Aerie on Franklin Street. Veterans come together for beers and bingo at the VFW or the American Legion post out by the cornfields on the poorer, western edge of town. On back streets of the scruffier residential neighborhoods, a handful of hair salons and barbershops also provide places to congregate and while

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS $39.97

WELCOME SOME FRIENDS INTO THE ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY OF *NATION* READERS.

(NOBODY OWNS *THE NATION*. THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

away the time. A multiscreen cinema and a biker bar are the epicenters of the town's entertainment.

Arguably, the only thing that marks Shelbyville out is that Army Recruiting Command says more of its young people are enlisting to join the Army than in any other town its size in the state of Indiana. For that reason, Shelbyville offers a revealing window into the way the war in Iraq is reverberating at home—changing people's lives and, more slowly, their political ideas and allegiances.

According to the public relations firm Claritas, which recently conducted a survey of Army recruitment, residents of small towns in general are overrepresented in the Army: The firm estimates that 40 percent of Americans live in towns or hamlets with a population of under 20,000; yet, 46 percent of Army enlistees come from such communities. By contrast, 19 percent of Americans live in the nation's largest urban centers, yet these areas account for only 14 percent of enlistees. And Shelbyville takes this trend one step further.

Army recruiters, operating out of a little office on East Washington Street, prowl the streets of town looking for teenagers and young adults. They visit high schools and junior colleges, fast-food outlets and malls. They attend local county fairs. They show up at community centers and conduct home visits. If the prospective soldier lives with his or her parents, often Mom and Dad will sit in on these meetings. Thus, when the Army announced it was more than doubling the sign-up bonuses available for people joining, it was a front-page story in the local newspaper.

Generally, the prospective soldiers enlist out of high school, 17- and 18-year-olds not on the college track, looking for something new. Army numbers indicate that in 2003, fifty-three people from Shelbyville and the surrounding area joined the Army and another twenty-two enlisted in the Reserves. And these numbers don't include others who joined the Navy or Air Force. As of mid-August of this year, forty-five more have enlisted. "He wanted to make something more out of his life than working in a factory all the time," 45-year-old Trish Jones says simply of her eldest son's decision to join the Marines in late 2002.

Perhaps, shoring up the rhetoric about pride in country and patriotic duty, Shelbyville's young men and women also join out of boredom, join for the same reasons Jeff Mills, now 39 and a local factory worker earning about $15,000 a year, did back in the mid-1980s: to travel to places they would otherwise be unable to afford to visit (Mills was stationed near Frankfurt, Germany, for three years). Perhaps, in the same way that many young boys and girls from small towns turn to drugs like meth and Oxycontin for a quick buzz, they join the Army for a dose of excitement, an antidote to the predictability of life in a town as small and constrained as this.

With a National Guard unit stationed just north of town—hosting Black Hawk helicopters that were quickly, and quietly, moved into more secure hangars after 9/11—and the sprawling Atterbury National Guard training camp not too far southwest of town, Shelbyville is a community saturated with currently serving personnel, veterans and family members of those off to war. Dozens of residents are in Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia; some have served in Kosovo; others are stateside, waiting to be shipped off to one or another hot spot. The town is full of talk of who's been activated, who's returned home. The newspaper's systems analyst was sent to Iraq for fifteen months; the fire department has two reservists in Iraq; the police department has an officer serving in Bosnia.

In 2003, 25-year-old Army Private Shawn Pahnke, who'd recently moved here with his pregnant wife to be near her family, was killed in action in Baghdad. (Pahnke's wife, Elisha, still lives in town but declined to talk to me for this article.) So far, he's Shelbyville's only fatality in America's twenty-first-century wars.

When the soldiers come home on leave, the VFW hosts homecoming parties in its back room. When they leave again, they leave behind a quiet town where yellow ribbons painted onto cars or hung on front porches next to the Stars and Stripes are about the most visible sign of political engagement, and a strong community that gently but firmly makes sure the wives and children of soldiers are taken care of, that money keeps coming in, that they have food on their table, that their cars are maintained.

A strong community makes sure the families of soldiers are taken care of, they have food on their tables, their cars are maintained.

Indiana has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1964, usually by large margins. But its senators are split, one Democrat, the other Republican. And, at the local level, towns like Shelbyville bounce back and forth. At the moment, the mayor, a heavyset man named Scott Furgeson, who used to be the manager of a local pizzeria, is a Republican; his predecessor was a Democrat. And so it goes.

Generally, Furgeson says, Shelbyvillians let the federal government get on with what it says it needs to do on the world stage, while they worry more about local and state affairs—the upcoming governor's race, a proposed revamping of the local property-tax assessment, trying to keep the Knauf insulation company from downsizing 400 fiberglass production jobs (other than that, the town leaders assure me, the current recession has largely passed Shelbyville by, although many of the men and women sitting around the Eagles bar watching the Brickyard 400 NASCAR race on August 8 disagreed with that). On the whole, Shelbyville's residents are willing to give their elected leaders in Washington the benefit of the doubt on issues ranging from the torture at Abu Ghraib prison to the justifications presented for war against Iraq.

"My sense is there's a lot of forgiveness for the President," says *Shelbyville News* editor Bill Walsh. "Maybe we shouldn't have got involved in it [Iraq], but now that we are, let's make the best of it. I don't think people are uncritical here, but there's definitely a mood that you don't switch horses in midstream."

But while many share the sense of forgiveness he describes, at least some are starting to look at ways to abandon that horse. It's not that there's been a sudden conversion to the values and politics the Kerry/Edwards team embodies. Indeed, the local Democratic Party headquarters, the doors of which were locked throughout my

Sasha Abramsky, the author of Hard Time Blues *(St. Martin's), is working on a book on disenfranchisement in the United States.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stay in town, has only one tiny bumper sticker on its door mentioning Kerry's name. The rest of its stickers and posters are concerned with local and state races, and the candidates in those races would just as soon have people forget their party ties to a liberal Northeasterner like Kerry. (Moreover, because of the workings of the Electoral College system, Democrats in Indiana, like Republicans in Massachusetts, are in practice largely disenfranchised in the upcoming presidential race; whether Kerry loses Indiana by 7 percent or 17 percent, the Democrats there really aren't a part of current political calculations.)

So Indiana, and Shelbyville, will vote for Bush in 2004, just as they did in 2000. But neither will do so with anywhere near the same enthusiasm the second time around. There *is* a nascent sense of frustration here that will lead quite a few traditional Shelbyville Republicans to vote against Bush, and others to vote for the Republican ticket with fingers firmly clenching their nostrils shut.

Two weeks before the Republican convention, Mayor Furgeson tells me he hears Bush is ahead by only about seven points in Indiana, way down from the normal Republican presidential majority here. Interviews with numerous Shelbyville residents indicated that while many are still willing to vote for Bush, they do not have a rosy view of his policies and his Administration. And many others told me they could no longer support the President. Sometimes they could not quite articulate how this had happened, but it was clear they felt that their trust had been violated and their faith in government undermined.

Shelbyville will vote for Bush in 2004, just as it did in 2000, but not with anywhere near the same enthusiasm this time around.

In one breath, Shelbyville residents will express confidence in the government and say that while they supported the initial decision to topple the Iraqi regime, they wish more time and energy had been spent planning for the post-Saddam occupation. They'll say the actions at Abu Ghraib were aberrational, and they'll defend the soldiers by saying privates wouldn't do things like that unless they were following orders. And they'll point out that they should know, because they were in the Army themselves once. "Everybody I talked to [about Abu Ghraib]," says Chamber of Commerce head Lin Sexton, "said the chain of command went to Bush. It didn't stop at Rumsfeld. It went right to the top. There was so much empathy for the soldiers already. When that happened, the empathy escalated. These guys are getting court-martialed because of mismanagement at the top."

Others, like Anna Deen, will say Bush is an honest man, then they'll turn around and blame his underlings for all the problems—Rumsfeld and Cheney, anybody except the President himself. "I don't know how to put it," Deen says, pausing between words, her voice a pent-up crescendo of frustration. "They just make decisions in their little room and don't think about the outcome for myself. Or, on the news 'private so and so is dead,' and that's somebody's son or daughter. I don't appreciate what they've done to our boys, what they've done to families in the United States, and the situation we're in because of what they're deciding and how they're directing. But I have to believe that everything's going to work out—because of my son. He is my army. They put my boy in harm's way, and that's being very selfish. That's the government we live under—like it or not." (It reminded me of the Little Uncle argument utilized by pro-czarist Russians in the early years of the twentieth century, when they blamed corrupt minions for their country's woes and for leading their well-intentioned czar, their "little uncle," astray. Everyone knows what happened to the czar only a few years later.)

Still others are even more outspoken. "I didn't vote in 2000, but I'll vote against Bush this year," says Trish Jones, whose son Brandon is a Marine serving in Iraq, and who has two younger boys also thinking of joining up. A cashier in the nearby town of St. Paul, she's a skinny, tired-looking woman in blue jeans and a Marines T-shirt. "I don't think we should have been there [Iraq], and I still don't think we should be there. There've been more people killed since [the war officially ended] than in the war. If it wasn't for the war, the economy wouldn't be like it is. As long as we're at war, it's going to get worse."

Patrick Crohan is another Eagles member whose son, a medic in the Army, is in Iraq. A lean 48-year-old with a handlebar mustache and a sleeveless Budweiser T-shirt revealing his heavily tattooed biceps, he says, "In 2000 I voted for Bush. In 2004, I doubt if I'll vote for Bush. I don't think he has control." When Crohan saw the photographs of US soldiers torturing prisoners in Abu Ghraib, it made him feel sad. "You've got people with power behind them," he explains angrily, "and they lose control over their people." Trish Jones adds that "it shouldn't have happened. Because we wouldn't want it to happen to ours. We're trying to make it better, not make things worse. It didn't make me feel ashamed, but it just upset me that our guys could do something like that to them. There's enough going on without us tying them to walls with chains."

Anna Deen says that after the Abu Ghraib photographs began appearing on the television news, her son called her from Iraq and begged her to believe "we're not all like that. Mom, we're not all like that." Bitterly, as she thinks of the damage done, she says, "They must have been really bored to do all that kind of stuff to those Iraqis. What were these people thinking? To, one, do these things, and, two, to take photos."

Whatever the reasons, in towns like Shelbyville, change doesn't happen suddenly. People aren't radicalized overnight; the great, defining events of an epoch generally happen far away, and are experienced by residents secondhand—through newspaper and television reports, through the accounts of loved ones sent overseas to fight, through residents who travel to big cities like New York and come back full of stories. And, barring catastrophe, the good citizens prefer to just get on with their daily lives instead of spending their time politicking. If a man's home is his castle, small towns like this are man's citadels, spaces within which residents can try to forget about the broader, messy world outside.

Yet in an age as interconnected as ours, nowhere feels too far away from world affairs. Talking with residents, I was amazed how fearful they were. After 9/11, Mary Jo Phares, a retired police officer, recalls how she was called back to duty by the sheriff's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

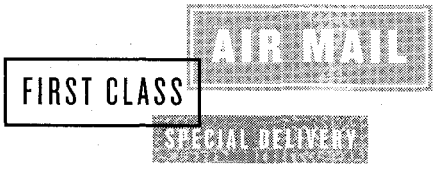
department to help provide round-the-clock private security detail to guard the local water supply. Die-hard Republican and local businessman Jim Ross—he runs a cement plant on the west side of town and tells me California is so left wing he wouldn't bat an eyelid in sorrow if it were to drop into the Pacific Ocean—sits over a beer in Kendall's Tavern and talks about how people are "scared to death," how they try to squirrel their money away, afraid of spending in case there's another attack, and how this in turn serves to dampen the economy. Young kids watch the news and ask their teachers and Sunday school instructors to tell them what it means to be beheaded. "It's hard to tell them," banker and ex-councilman James Garrett, an African-American active in the Second Baptist Church, admits. "It makes you think about what's going on in the world. It's sad." Eagles membership director Russel Snyder worries that Al Qaeda might ram a truck bomb into his crowded club on bingo night. "We could lose hundreds of people in one night, and that scares me." Trish Jones says that after 9/11 she was terrified even to walk down the street.

Shelbyville's awareness of changes in the world since the last presidential election shows itself in ways as small as how somebody chooses to construct a sentence, or as large as how they view their political allegiances. Local VFW post commander Bob Reese, for example, continues to consider himself a Bush supporter, but the words he uses to express his solidarity with his country's leader hardly represent a ringing endorsement of the President. A chain-smoking, wizened Air Force veteran with three tours in Vietnam behind him, no patience for antiwar movements and with a Stars and Stripes baseball cap perched on his head, Reese says slowly, "As commander of the VFW, I support and defend the Commander in Chief, the President. If he feels this is what we have to do to defeat terrorism, I have to believe in that thought." In other words, one might not always agree with the Commander in Chief in private, but during a war, one does not voice dissent with the leadership in public.

Engineering consultant David Wells, on the other hand, has lost all patience with the President. He voted for Bush in 2000 but is adamant that he will not do so this time around. "I think he's done a poor job," Wells tells me in the smoky basement bar of the Eagles Aerie, as his fellow Eagles drink Bud, Coors and Miller, sit around vinyl tables and roar encouragement to their NASCAR drivers on the huge TV screen next to the stairwell. "Economically, I've probably lost about one-third of what I've got invested. I think he's handled the war in Iraq totally wrong and is making enemies of all our allies. I don't think he's smart enough; and that doesn't mean Mensa, it means common sense. His coalition amounts to 'me and whoever wants to follow me.' A coalition involves building a team and then confronting. He confronted and then tried to build a team. I'm cynical about Iraq. I think it's a lost cause. It's going to be like Vietnam."

When I visit Anna Deen at her office, the metal front of her desk is plastered with photos of her son. Photos of Kevin at the ruins of Babylon, gun at his side. Photos of him trying on a shirt she sent. Photos of him with his Army buddies. A cork board on her wall has more of the same. For most of the time I'd spent with her, Deen had been silent about her son's politics. Then, just as I was getting ready to leave, she let loose. "I know he's really mad at the government. He supports his job. But the morale—he's ready to get out." ■

Letter From Poland



by David Ost

Warsaw

Western visitors here have often been surprised by Poland's avid pro-Americanism. For some it's a pleasant surprise: They find none of the anti-American stereotypes common elsewhere in Europe. For others it's an unpleasant one: What about the victims of America's imperial power?

Poles managed to find something deeply admirable in all American Presidents: They appreciated Carter for his human rights agenda, Reagan for his gut anti-Communism, Bush Senior for overseeing the end of the cold war and Clinton for his commitment to an inclusive globalization.

Until now. George W. Bush has managed to do what forty-five years of Communist rule could not: puncture the image of essential American goodness that has always been the United States' key selling point. Polish journalists now ask questions like, "How can we explain America's transformation from a country that introduced international law to one that intervenes militarily wherever it likes?" Or, more plaintively: "Does it really pay to be America's friend?" It is an astonishing turnabout: In more than twenty-five years of traveling to Poland I have never heard these kinds of criticisms.

The Iraq war has been the turning point. Poland was one of America's most zealous supporters, the leader of what Defense Secretary Rumsfeld dubbed the "new Europe." Unlike the situation in other supportive European countries, all major political parties supported the war. People elsewhere argued over whether Iraq really had weapons of mass destruction, but in Poland the calculus was more simple: America requested our help, so we gave it.

Both idealists and realists supported this approach. As a result of its Communist experience, Poland has a high number of so-called "liberal idealists" who share the American neoconservative view that force should be used against tyranny to bring about

David Ost (ost@hws.edu), who teaches politics at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, is the author of The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe, *to be published next year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy. Adam Michnik and his mainstay liberal daily *Gazeta Wyborcza* were the chief proponents of this view. "Violence and fanaticism are challenging the democratic world," Michnik wrote at the outset of the war, justifying unequivocal support of America's actions: "We do not accept the peaceful road for the criminals of September 11 and their allies."

Conservative-minded realists also supported giving President Bush carte blanche. Precisely because so many others opposed the war, they said, supporting it will earn us thanks from America and the dollars that go with that. According to Maciej Letowski, a prominent right-wing thinker, an imperial America needs strategic allies in key spots around the world, and Poland had a historic chance to become one. If it did, it would "achieve a goal which otherwise, with our meager resources, would be impossible: to become a regional power." In this view, Poland should aim to become the Britain of the East—the unfailing vassal of the superpower in all its various causes.

With such broad support, the government didn't even put its war plans up for parliamentary discussion. Poland sent 2,400 troops, more than any country except Britain and Italy, and led a multinational occupation force numbering nearly 10,000 troops.

Less than two years later, however, both these positions justifying eager support for America are in tatters, their proponents feeling disillusioned, if not betrayed. The liberals are the most deeply disappointed, precisely because they had the most hopes. For behind their strong support for the American invasion of Iraq was the conviction that America would be able to do as it said. "If they said they could topple Saddam and install a democracy," Marek Beylin, chief of the editorial section of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, told me, "we figured they must know what they're doing, particularly since they'd been working on it for so long. But it seems we were naïve. It turns out they had no idea what to do with the Shiites, the Kurds, the resistance, the infrastructure. A superpower should be able to do this! That it can't do it—this changes all our calculations."

Pointing to Poles' ability to demonstrate in front of the presidential palace, an activist said that things are 'not yet as bad as America.'

Then came the torture at Abu Ghraib, showing irrefutable images of an America not to their liking. Bit by bit, the evidence grew that this was not the war the liberals had signed up for. Moreover, America seemed incapable of listening even to its allies. "I had hopes for the moderating influence of Tony Blair, and I even saw Poland playing a role here," wrote former Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek, a strong pro-American voice in post-Communist Polish politics. "But today it's clear that that influence has been virtually nil."

All this has led to an extraordinary backlash. In early September President Aleksander Kwasniewski, long one of Bush's closest supporters, offered an unprecedented rebuke, telling the *New York Times* that the United States needed to become "more flexible, more gracious," and that the Bush Administration should abandon its "neoconservative divide-and-rule policy."

The conservatives, meanwhile, have seen their illusions quashed as well. They applauded every pro-American turn the government took, talking about how Poland would soon be rewarded for its fealty. "It was bizarre," recalls the veteran activist Sergiusz Kowalski, "to hear about all the benefits sure to come our way." There would be significant Iraqi reconstruction contracts for Polish businesses, new American military-related investments in Poland, and easier US visa requirements for citizens. Two years later none of this has come to pass. "Halliburton again!" has been a regular theme of the Polish press, along with stories about local firms being passed over. The promised investments have not yet materialized. (Instead, in 2004 alone Poland will pay $85 million from its own strapped coffers to fund the occupation, while being allocated only $12 million in military aid from the United States, far less than what Washington gives its other European allies. Even the usually pro-Republican Polish American Congress complains that "a good ally is being treated shabbily.") As for visa rules, they're even tougher: The United States now charges $100 simply for an application fee and still turns down a large number of them. "I just don't understand it," a conservative friend of mine lamented. "It's as if you're trying to drive us away."

Far from bringing good results, this automatic pro-Americanism brought quite bad results as far as relations with Europe were concerned. Poland entered the European Union along with nine other countries on May 1. But even though it's the natural leader of the newcomers, with a population greater than the other nine combined, its reception has been quite different. As Geremek put it in a widely publicized interview, "Poland has never had as bad a reputation in Europe as it does now. We've alienated the two countries who ushered us into the EU—France and Germany. Even our own post-Communist neighbors don't support us." Even conservatives, who have never been enthusiastic about the EU, are coming to agree that such isolation poses a danger. "We're not a Great Britain who can choose to be in Europe or not," says Aleksander Hall, one of the country's leading conservative thinkers. "America may move on, but this is where we're going to stay. Unconditional pro-Americanism does not help our cause."

Poles accustomed to looking to America as the main guarantor of democracy are now reassessing their views. This comes up in unforeseen ways. At an antiwar demonstration in Warsaw in July, I counted 150 participants surrounded by 150 policemen. When I told one demonstrator that this seemed like the kind of crackdown on civil liberties increasingly common in the United States, he demurred: "The fact that we're demonstrating in front of the presidential palace rather than in a distant 'free-speech zone' means it's not yet as bad as America," he said. When I told him that this was the first time I ever heard a Pole cite America as an example of a non-democratic country, he agreed that this was both new and ironic. "The bigger irony," he continued, "is that now it's the Free World superpower pressuring us to crack down on dissent."

But things are beginning to change. Roman Kuzniar, director of the Diplomatic Academy in Poland's Foreign Ministry, recently denounced his country's "unconditional, unreflective and unequivocal" support for the United States in a war "that is contrary to our national interests." Aleksander Smolar, another leading strategic thinker, says Poland's policies have left it isolated in Europe and taken for granted in America, and calls for a thorough

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

change of course. Smolar also argues that this uncritical pro-Americanism has debased the great emancipatory legacy of the recent anti-Communist revolutions: "We used to talk so much about 'living in truth,' yet now we give moral support to a policy based from the very beginning on lies."

Smolar is a strong supporter of a US presence in Europe. Kuzniar was once booted out of the Foreign Ministry because he was said to be too pro-American. Even the former Polish director of Radio Free Europe cautions the country against "blind pro-Americanism." And that's the point: These views are coming not from the usual critics but from the usual supporters of America. They're upset precisely because they're so pro-American. They want America to be better than this. They need America to be better than this. They fear that President Bush's policies will stir up a popular anti-Americanism that they want at all costs to avoid. But they need an honesty and sense of loyalty from the United States that this Administration has been unwilling to supply.

Adam Michnik once quipped that "Poland is more pro-American than America is." Bush has changed that. Poland has already hinted that it will reduce its Iraq contingent next year; public pressure may force it to do so sooner. What about the future? When I asked Beylin, one of the country's key opinion-forming journalists, what will happen if a re-elected Bush turns to Poland for help in a new war against Syria or Iran, he visibly recoiled. "We wouldn't do it. Not this time. If it's a UN or NATO operation, perhaps. But like Iraq? No, that's not happening again." ■

Letter From Afghanistan

AIR MAIL
FIRST CLASS
SPECIAL DELIVERY

by Ann Jones

The Bush Administration claims to have established democracy in Afghanistan—but what can "democracy" possibly mean when more than half the population is property? By tradition, every Afghan girl or woman has to be attached to some man—her father, husband, brother, son, uncle. Afghan men routinely sell their daughters in marriage—often well under the legal age of 16—and claim a "bride price" as payback for raising the girl. Sometimes they give away female relatives as compensation to settle debts or quarrels with other men. Call it tradition or quaint local custom, but Afghan girls and women are still bought, sold and traded as commodities.

So far, the Bush administration has met that problem by ignoring it and spinning the official line that Afghan women were "liberated" when the Taliban dispersed, as if ideas of women and social control so deeply embedded in religion and culture could be thrown off like old burqas—which, incidentally, most women still wear. It's also a big problem for international organizations trying to rebuild the Afghan state and civil society. How can they advance human rights for women as commonly understood in the West while at the same time negotiating a culture that understands things so differently? Sometimes they get things badly wrong.

All of this is made painfully clear by the story of the Herati shelter girls.

These twenty-six women—most of them were teenage girls, really—first came to the attention of human rights workers in January of last year when a man reported to the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) that refugee girls and women were imprisoned in a guesthouse belonging to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held in "protective custody" by Ismail Khan, the notoriously dictatorial governor (or warlord) of Herat, in western Afghanistan.

It took three months for UNHCR to gain admission to the guesthouse—known locally as "Freedom Garden"—to speak to the women. Through interviews, the UNHCR investigators slowly pieced together what had happened. The women proved to be double refugees. Most had fled Afghanistan for Iran with their families during the Afghan civil wars. Growing up in Iran, they'd learned to enjoy more freedom than they would have known in Afghanistan—walking freely in the streets, going to the bazaar or to the houses of their friends. Then—to each of them—something bad happened. L. was sold in marriage at age 13 to an old man who raped and beat her until she ran away. M. ran away from home after her Iranian stepfather sexually assaulted her when she was about 14. Others were beaten and put out of the house by stepfathers who refused, as Afghan men often do, to support another man's child.

One by one, the runaways made their way to the shrine of Emam Reza in Mashhad, Iran's most important pilgrimage site, where they found temporary refuge in pilgrims' hostels. There some of them fell in with the pimps, traffickers and drug smugglers who haunt the place, and they were put to work. Some who were repeatedly spotted by security cameras were picked up by the police. Officially—or semi-officially, for reports of this affair remain "internal" and incomplete—the girls were classed as "unaccompanied females." They were women on the loose, unattached to any male relative, and thus loose women, by definition "bad." Some of the women say they were taken to court in Iran for cursory deportation hearings, but in the absence of documentation, it seems possible that many of them were simply handed over to an Afghan border official, a nephew of Ismail Khan, and subsequently to the Herati governor himself. Several of the girls told investigators that one day "Ismail Khan's men" picked them up and drove them across the border to "shelter" in nearby Herat.

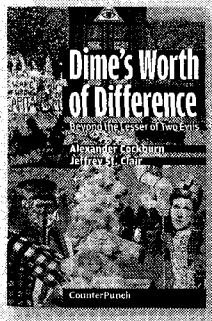
Ann Jones is the author, most recently, of Looking for Lovedu *(Knopf), an account of a journey across Africa. She is working on* Kabul in Winter, *a book about her experiences as an aid worker in Afghanistan, to be published by Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New From CounterPunch Books

Dime's Worth of Difference
Beyond the Lesser of Two Evils

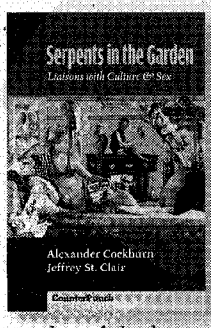
Edited by Alexander Cockburn & Jeffrey St. Clair
ISBN 1-904859-03-8 $15.95



Before you cast your ballot, read this book! A relentless searchlight on the presidential stakes and the two-party pantomime. Cockburn and St. Clair steer past the hand-wringing and what-ifs into the clear, bright uplands of reason about what's really at stake here for democracy and justice. From the war on Iraq to the insane war on drugs and job-slashing trade pacts, the Democrats and Republicans have swum in tight harmony. Dime's Worth of Difference shows the way out of the political quagmire with powerful essays by Gabriel Kolko, JoAnn Wypijewski, Bruce Anderson, Robin Blackburn, Brandy Baker and others.

Serpents in the Garden
Liaisons with Culture and Sex

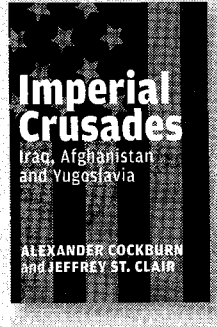
Edited by Alexander Cockburn & Jeffrey St. Clair
ISBN 1-902593-94-4 $15.95



A marvelous a cappella of writing on art, music, culture and sex, including scintillating essays by Vicente Navarro on the fascist life of Dali, Jeffrey St. Clair on the FBI's harassment of Frank Lloyd Wright, Ben Sonnenberg on his friend Ted Hughes, Bruce Jackson on how the crowd at Newport really reacted to Dylan going electric, Alexander Cockburn on Edward Said, plus CounterPunch's definitive list of the best 100 books of the twentieth century.

Imperial Crusades

Alexander Cockburn & Jeffrey St. Clair
ISBN 1-84467-506-8 $15.00



Imperial Crusades chronicles the lies that came back to haunt the liars in Washington and London, the secret agendas and the under-reported carnages of these wars. It is a ripely vivid and blow-by-blow commentary in the tradition of Tacitus, Macaulay and John Reed. We were right. They were wrong and this book proves the case.
Published by Verso

CounterPunch / AK Press
To order books and subscriptions call
1 (800) 840-3683 or visit our website
www.counterpunch.org

CounterPunch PETROLIA
AK PRESS

What happened there is unclear, and the women have not been eager to talk about it. Unlike Western women, who may report victimization, Afghan women know they'll be blamed for anything "bad." (Rape victims can be imprisoned for criminal sexual activity.) In the guesthouse the women lived in very close quarters, guarded by men. Some of the younger girls report that a dominant group of five or six older girls had "relationships" with the guards, and that this group often went off on "picnics" with men. The UNHCR investigator found evidence of beatings by the guards, fights among the women, self-mutilations, repeated suicide attempts and profound psychological disturbance. S., age 20, feared her family would kill her because she had had sex. N., 18, had tried to kill herself with an injection. K., 18, had tried to jump down the well. F., 21, had tried to hang herself. M., 21, had doused herself with kerosene and was saved from self-immolation only by the intervention of other women. The list went on, recording physical illnesses and mental "handicaps" that probably indicated post-traumatic stress. Two or three women were unable to speak at all.

After the investigation Ismail Khan was persuaded to turn over the women, now officially classed as "returnees," to UNHCR. The UN agency, which does not provide hands-on care, consigned them to Shuhada, an Afghan nongovernmental organization fronted by Dr. Sima Samar, Afghanistan's best-known champion of women's rights. Dr. Samar, a physician, was Afghanistan's first Minister of Women's Affairs and now heads the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission. She quickly established a "shelter" for the women in Kabul, promising them literacy and vocational training.

But in Kabul things got worse fast. Though none were charged with wrongdoing, the women were again locked up—this time in smaller quarters, and again with male guards. The promised vocational training turned out to be carpet weaving, a grueling profit-making venture meant to defray the cost of keeping them. The women refused to do it. They began to act out. They made themselves up. They dressed provocatively. They played loud music. They danced.

UNHCR called in Medica Mondiale, a German NGO experienced—in Bosnia, Kosova, Albania—in helping women doubly victimized by war and male violence. Their psychologists and doctors diagnosed the women as deeply traumatized by physical and sexual violence, and by great loss—the loss of home and family and in some cases children they'd had to leave behind. But according to Sylvia Johnson, a German psychologist who spent many hours at the "shelter" over a period of months, most of the girls were not depressed. They were angry at being locked up.

"They were defiant," Johnson says, "like a gang of street kids—but not aggressive, not malicious. They were a bunch of young girls who drew their fantasies from Indian Bollywood movies. They wanted to be film stars. They had spirit. They were survivors."

A few managed to escape, although Kabul police later caught two of them walking "unaccompanied" and sent them to prison. At least one, with her young daughter, was sent to a mental asylum, where she spends the days obsessively scrubbing the child's genitalia. Desperate to get rid of the rest, Dr. Samar shipped half a dozen of the brightest girls to a Shuhada-sponsored clinic in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

central mountains, ostensibly to train as nurses. And then last spring she offered the remaining girls up for marriage. That is, she let it be known that women were available, and men from the neighborhood began to stop by to inquire. When a match was made, Dr. Samar would ask the prospective bride for her consent. She could agree to the match or stay locked up. Only two women refused to marry.

Unlike most Afghan brides, these women were handed over for free. That put them within reach of men who couldn't afford or expect much. One reportedly married a relative of a Shuhada cleaning woman.

An Afghan representative of UNHCR, Kabul, praised the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission for coming up with such a creative solution to the otherwise insoluble problem of independent women. Dr. Samar herself maintains that she did the women a big favor by vouching for them and restoring them to a legitimate place in Afghan society. "It was only my recommendation that got them husbands," she says. "And what else could we do? We couldn't keep them forever." She asks the question rhetorically, as if one couldn't possibly think of another thing—and as if she'd had some legal right to keep them at all.

In recent months, international aid workers in Kabul have been warned not to raise the issue of women's rights before the Afghan presidential election, now scheduled for October, lest it spook a "conservative" reaction, topple the fragile Karzai government and reflect badly on the nation-building abilities of George W. Bush. Women's advocates are reminded that armed rebellion brought down the reformist King Amanullah in 1929 after he attempted to abolish purdah, and President Taraki in 1979 after he allowed girls to attend school. Human rights advocates call for similar changes today—minimum legal age for marriage, an end to bride price, equal education—and having signed international human rights agreements (such as CEDAW, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women), Afghanistan is bound to comply. But these days the shadow of the resurgent Taliban—the same sort of "conservative" force that, in the past, crushed king and Communist alike—hovers over Kabul like a darkening cloud.

Nevertheless, I wanted to know what had become of the Herati shelter girls. Shuhada gave me the newlyweds' addresses so I could see for myself how happy they were. I found one young woman, badly bruised, who said her husband and his brother often beat her. She said she hoped to run away. I heard that another new bride had already escaped. But the other addresses on the list came up empty. The women were unknown.

In July Dr. Samar told the two marriage refuseniks, now 18, that they were too old to live in the shelter. They were given a choice: Marry or leave. They signed a document saying that the shelter owes them nothing, and they walked out the door—loose women again, or maybe, for the time being, free. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

(which by many estimates is now Bolivia's largest city; it is certainly its wealthiest). The lowland population is far less "Indian" than in the highlands; at the same time, many lowland indigenous communities have chosen alliance with regional over highland movements. The truly volatile divide in Bolivia is between its Andean west and its tropical east. For his next visit, I hope Hayden makes it down from the mountains to learn about the other two-thirds of the country. KATHLEEN LOWREY

Syracuse, NY

■ To portray the gas war and other protests as an "indigenous insurrection" is a gross simplification. These historically rooted conflicts involve ethnic and class struggles and are not simply "Indian uprisings." Most of Bolivia's people, including the vast majority of its urban poor and rural populations, are indeed Quechua, Aymara, Guaran' or from other indigenous groups. But Bolivia's ethnic politics are inextricably bound up with its class relations. The Quechua- and Aymara-speaking miners who marched on La Paz (led by Bolivia's largest labor union) and played such a crucial role in forcing Sánchez de Lozada's resignation did so as miners, not as Quechuas or Aymaras. In the Andean countryside Quechua- and Aymara-speakers rarely use "*ind'gena*" or "*indio*" as terms of self-identification (terms favored by urban intellectuals). The label of choice is *campesino*. The October protests were an indigenous uprising, certainly. But they were also, simultaneously and inseparably, class struggle. TOM PERREAULT

Ithaca, NY

■ Tom Hayden does a good job of drawing on some of the most insightful observers, but he fails to mention that Bolivia's problems are the maturation of neoliberal privatization policies promoted by the World Bank and the IMF for twenty years. The IMF, for example, has threatened to withhold concessionary funding if Bolivia does not export its gas under what many consider unfavorable conditions. He also ignores the role of the 1997 oil and gas privatization in the economic crisis that underlies the political meltdown. Hydrocarbon income contributed 50 percent of all government revenues through the 1990s, and the loss of these revenues (to companies including Enron) is a principal factor. LINDA FARTHING AND BEN KOHL

HAYDEN REPLIES

Los Angeles

■ It is certainly true, as Tom Perreault writes, that the uprisings have a class character. But there is a profound racial divide, with more than 60 percent of the people classified as indigenous—most of them poor and marginal. Both the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* have remarked on the Indian character of these uprisings, as well as others since Chiapas in 1994.

The "lowlanders" mentioned by Kathleen Lowrey are indeed wealthier. Places like Santa Cruz are home to the white, privileged, business and middle classes most disturbed by the emergence of a militant indigenous majority claiming a voice in proportion to their numbers.

The draconian economic policies of the IMF, as Linda Farthing and Ben Kohl note, helped prompt the overthrow of President "Goni" and causes continuing political unrest. Unfortunately, top Democrats like James Carville and Stanley Greenberg also bear responsibility for being paid advisers for Goni's politics of privatization during their missionary phase of NAFTA promotion.

As for the rant of Congressman Luis Eduardo Siles Perez, the tone of Bolivian politics makes internal *Nation* disputes seem positively Gandhian. It is true that Garcia Linera and Quispe are former guerrillas, as my article stated, which is nothing new in the history of Latin American politics. The question is when, if ever, the long-oppressed Indian majority in white-dominated Bolivia will achieve self-determination. The congressman glosses the fact that his indigenous colleague, Evo Morales, head of the coca growers' union and the Movement Toward Socialism, may well come to power through the ballot box. Will the US government, with its "war" on drugs and neoliberal economic policies, stand by if the Indian majority unites behind Morales? Or will it move against what the congressman calls Morales's "mob-style" politics? TOM HAYDEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

croft held no news conference in September when the case was dismissed, nor did he offer any apologies to the defendants who had spent nearly three years in jail. That wouldn't be good for his boss's campaign, which rests on the "war on terrorism." Here, as in Iraq, Bush's war is not going as well as he pretends.

The Detroit case was extremely weak from the outset. The government could never specify exactly what terrorist activity was allegedly being planned and never offered any evidence linking the defendants to Al Qaeda. Its case consisted almost entirely of a pair of sketches and a videotape, described by an FBI agent as "casing materials" for a terrorist plot, and the testimony of a witness of highly dubious reliability seeking a generous plea deal. It now turns out that the prosecution failed to disclose to the defense evidence that other government experts did not consider the sketches and videotape to be terrorist casing materials at all and that the government's key witness had admitted to lying.

Until that reversal, the Detroit case had marked the only terrorist conviction obtained from the Justice Department's detention of more than 5,000 foreign nationals in antiterrorism sweeps since 9/11. So Ashcroft's record is 0 for 5,000. When the Attorney General was locking these men up in the immediate wake of the attacks, he held almost daily press conferences to announce how many "suspected terrorists" had been detained. No press conference has been forthcoming to announce that exactly none of them have turned out to be actual terrorists.

Meanwhile, despite widespread recognition that Abu Ghraib has done untold damage worldwide to the legitimacy of the fight against terrorism, the military has still not charged any higher-ups in the Pentagon, and the Administration has shown no inclination to appoint an independent commission to investigate. It prefers to leave the investigation to the Justice Department and the Pentagon, the two entities that drafted secret legal memos defending torture.

And in late July, resurrecting the ideological-exclusion practices so familiar from the cold war, the Department of Homeland Security revoked a work visa for a prominent Swiss Islamic scholar who had been hired by Notre Dame for an endowed chair in its International Peace Studies Institute. DHS invoked a Patriot Act provision that, like the McCarran-Walter Act of the cold war, authorizes exclusion based purely on speech. If a person uses his position of prominence to "endorse" terrorism or terrorist organizations, the Patriot Act says, he may not enter the United States. The McCarran-Walter Act, on the books until its repeal in 1990, was used to exclude such "subversives" as Czeslaw Milosz and Graham Greene. This time the man whose views are too dangerous for Americans to hear firsthand is Tariq Ramadan, a highly respected intellectual and author of more than twenty books who was named by *Time* magazine as one of the hundred most likely innovators of the twenty-first century.

Notre Dame is not known as a hotbed of Islamic extremism—and Ramadan is no extremist. He argues for a modernized version of Islam that promotes tolerance and women's rights. Two days after 9/11 he called on fellow Muslims to condemn the attacks. In short, Ramadan is precisely the kind of moderate voice in Islam that the United States should be courting if it hopes to isolate Al Qaeda. The barring of Ramadan reinforces the sense that the Administration cannot or will not distinguish between moderates and extremists and is simply anti-Muslim.

What is most troubling is that none of these developments—the revelation of prosecutorial abuse in the interest of obtaining a "win" in the war on terrorism; the continuing failure to hold accountable those most responsible for the torture at Abu Ghraib; and the exclusion of a moderate Muslim as too dangerous for Americans to hear—is an isolated mistake. Rather, they are symptoms of a deeper problem. The President thinks he can win this war by "acting tough" and treating the rule of law and constitutional freedoms as optional. With enough fearmongering, that attitude may win him the election. But it will lose the war. Bush is playing right into Al Qaeda's hands by further alienating those we most need on our side. DAVID COLE

David Cole (cole@law.georgetown.edu), The Nation*'s legal affairs correspondent, is the author of* Enemy Aliens.

Agents of Influence

Did Ariel Sharon, the Prime Minister of Israel, run a covert program with operatives in high-level US government positions to influence the Bush Administration's decision to go to war in Iraq? The FBI wants to know.

That's the story behind the latest Washington spy scandal, involving Israel, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and a mid-level civilian Pentagon employee allegedly caught red-handed trying to deliver US secrets to the Israelis.

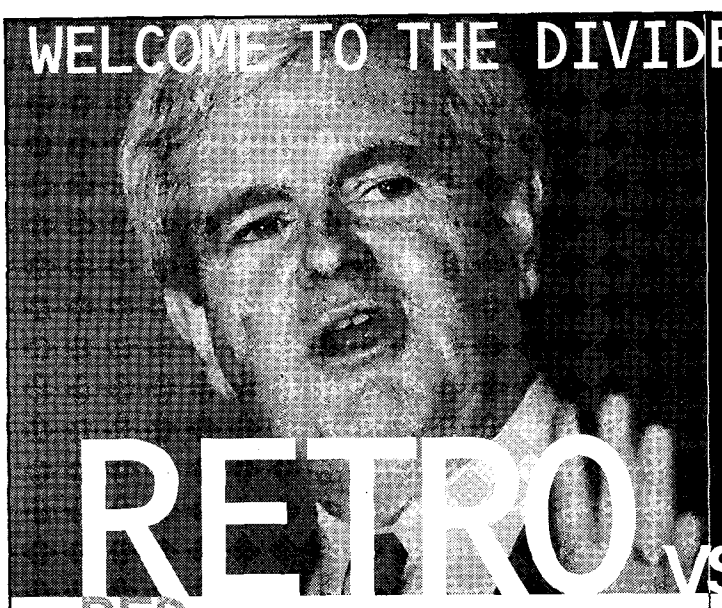
It's not a routine spy case. According to sources familiar with the investigation, the FBI is looking at a group of neoconservatives who have occupied senior posts at the White House, the Pentagon and in Vice President Cheney's office. It's not that they are supporters of Israel—no crime there—but that some of them might be conspirators in a clandestine operation launched by Sharon's Likud Party. They make up the very network of ideologues—from civilians at the Defense Department to fellow travelers at right-wing think tanks—who have been accused of pushing George W. Bush into war. The point of the probe, sources believe, is not to examine the push to war but rather to ascertain whether Sharon recruited or helped place in office people who knowingly, and secretly, worked with him to affect the direction of US policy in the Middle East. The most likely targets of the inquiry are Douglas Feith, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, and Harold Rhode of the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment.

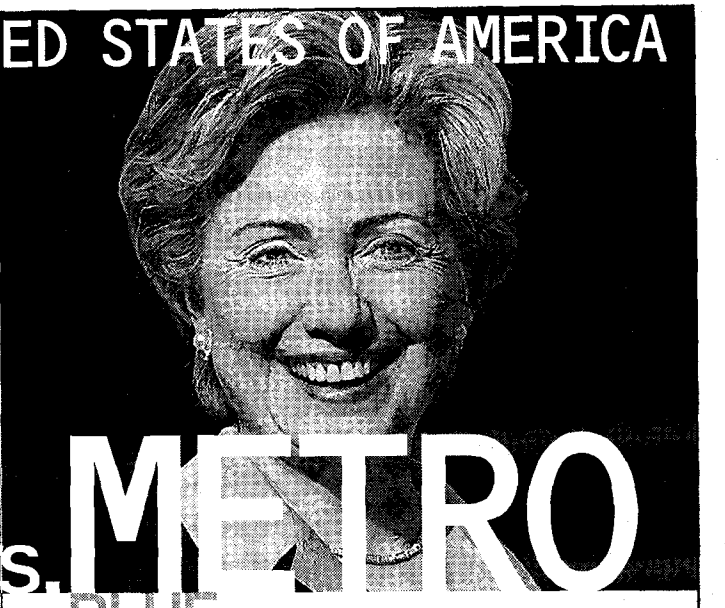
It's an explosive inquiry and one that raises the most sensitive hackles, since it involves the possibility that US officials (most, but not all, Jews) are working on Sharon's behalf. They include Feith and a handful of other officials, including those in the inner circle of his policy office who formed the core of the Office of Special Plans (OSP). The probe faces stiff political resistance. Yet it may have legs.

The investigation burst into the news in late August when CBS News reported that the FBI had caught a Feith staffer, later identi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WELCOME TO THE DIVIDED STATES OF AMERICA





RETRO vs. METRO

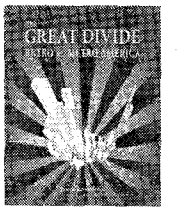
RED

- The South, the Great Plains, the Mountain West and Appalachia
- 35% of the population & 50 Senators
- Subsidized extraction industries agriculture, oil, gas, coal and forestry- and majority of military installations
- Pays 29% of federal taxes
- From 1991 to 2001, received $800 billion more in goods, services and cash from Washington than it paid in taxes
- Tom DeLay, Mel Gibson, Bill O'Reilly, Extreme Makeover, Lee Greenwood, Pat Buchanan, George Bush
- The Bible is the literal word of God: Yes 60%
- Nobel Laureates in science and economics: 23

BLUE

- The Northeast coast, the West Coast and the Great Lake States
- 65% of the population & 50 Senators
- Non-subsidized manufacturing, financial services and information industries
- Pays 71% of federal taxes
- From 1991 to 2001, paid $1.4 trillion more in taxes than it got back in goods, services and cash
- Barack Obama, Michael Moore, the West Wing, Al Franken, Bill Moyers, Dixie Chicks, John Kerry
- The Bible is the literal word of God: Yes 44%
- Nobel Laureates in science and economics: 235

This message is from *The Great Divide: Retro vs. Metro America* an important new book that deepens our understanding of America as a polarized nation and provides a roadmap for how the Democrats can become an effective majority party.



polipoint press

Learn more and download the book at retrovsmetro.org On sale exclusively at amazon.com/greatdivide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fied as Larry Franklin, trying to deliver what turned out to be a classified draft of a presidential memo on Iran to AIPAC and an Israeli Embassy diplomat. Subsequent attention focused largely on whether Franklin was a spy for Israel, but in fact he is only a minor figure in a far more sweeping probe that began two years ago.

What triggered the original investigation isn't known, but it *is* known that it began at a critical moment, as Feith and Rhode began assembling a team, which included Franklin, to form the OSP. It's been widely reported that the OSP manufactured exaggerated intelligence reports on the threat from Iraq, but less reported is the fact that the OSP also carried out unauthorized operations. Several OSP officials—including Rhode, Franklin and Michael Maloof, one of the two original staffers of the forerunner to OSP, joined by Michael Ledeen of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI)—took part in a rogue Pentagon initiative, beginning in 2001 with unsavory wheeler-dealers in Rome and Paris, to discuss regime change beyond Iraq, in Iran and Syria. The CIA found out about the Rome meeting, and the agency may have asked the FBI to start watching Feith, Rhode, Ledeen, Franklin et al. Former CIA and Defense intelligence officials familiar with the case stress that the FBI is looking at an operation run by the Israeli prime minister, not by the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, and that the investigation is based solely on concerns about foreign influence. "It's about Sharon," says a former senior CIA operations officer. "This has nothing to do with anti-Semitism."

Some familiar with the case suggest that the FBI's investigation is looking back as far as 1996, when Feith, Richard Perle, Feith's boss at the Pentagon in the 1980s and until recently chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, and David Wurmser, a co-founder of OSP who is now Cheney's Middle East adviser, wrote a radical memo, called "A Clean Break," to incoming Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu calling for confrontation with Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and the PLO.

Since the investigation came to light, Sharon's closest allies have led an effort to derail it. Screaming the loudest is Marc Zell, Feith's former law partner, who is now an attorney in Israel tied to the Likud's right wing and to the settler movement. "It's a cheap shot by certain people inside the government to embarrass Doug and the Pentagon leadership," Zell told the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. "Certain elements inside the military and intelligence communities are unhappy with the policy decisions of people in the upper echelon and attempt, sometimes in a very crude way, to embarrass them." News of the investigation stunned AIPAC, the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, AEI and others in Likud's Washington circuit. And, of course, AIPAC's friends in Congress are hopping mad. *Ha'aretz*, the Israeli daily, said that news of the inquiry landed like the "diplomatic equivalent of an unexploded cluster bomb."

Perle is demanding that the White House clamp down on the investigators, according to the *Boston Globe*. "It's pretty nasty, and unfortunately the Administration doesn't seem to have it under control," the *Globe* quotes Perle as saying. But according to the *Financial Times*, the White House is quietly doing just that: The London daily reports that the White House is pressuring the FBI and the Justice Department not to issue indictments in the case.

Other voices are also being heard. Democratic Representative John Conyers wrote to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee demanding an investigation into "substantial and credible evidence that Pentagon officials...have engaged in unauthorized covert activities." Conyers specifically cited Feith. And the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is now deep into phase two of its own probe, which includes examining the work of the OSP; its report is expected after the November election.

The FBI has an ace in the hole that may allow it to resist White House pressure. "By now," says a retired intelligence official, "the FBI has gathered up so much material in grand jury records and things like that that they are in a position to push back against pressure from the Administration to back away from this. When they get pressure, they leak to somebody. And the potential of disclosure is a real threat to the Administration." In addition, the counterintelligence probe could spin off investigations in several possibly related scandals, including the Ahmad Chalabi case and the Valerie Plame leak, not to mention the Franklin matter.

"They have no case," says AEI's Michael Ledeen. We'll see.

ROBERT DREYFUSS

Robert Dreyfuss, a Nation *contributing editor, is at work on a book about US policy toward political Islam during the cold war.*

Security for Sale

On 9/11, we were told that nothing would be the same again. But in the Washington money game, where policy is shaped by the highest bidders, nothing has changed. Six months after 9/11, reporter Carl Prine of the Pittsburgh *Tribune-Review* decided to find out how well chemical plants were protected from intruders. Not far from Pittsburgh, at a warehouse in Forward Township owned by Vopak, a leading chemical distributor, he spent more than an hour onsite without being accosted, even climbing atop chemical tanks and rail cars storing highly toxic chlorine. Vopak's warehouse is one of at least 123 plants nationwide where an accident or attack involving lethal chemicals could endanger more than 1 million people living nearby.

Over the next two months, Prine visited another thirty chemical factories, shippers and warehouses in Baltimore, Chicago and Houston. He found "safeguards so lax that a potential terrorist can easily reach massive tanks of toxins that endanger millions." Not only could a stranger enter unmolested, workers often gave him directions to the most sensitive valves and control rooms. More than half the plants had "no noticeable [security] cameras, fences or locks at all." A return investigation found few improvements.

For all the talk about terrorists getting their hands on WMDs overseas, huge stocks of highly dangerous and accessible chemicals are right here. But while nuclear power plants are already subject to tough federal security requirements, there are no mandatory federal security standards for chemical plants. The industry regulates itself.

In October 2001, Senator Jon Corzine introduced the Chemical Security Act. It would have given the Environmental Protection Agency the authority to regulate security at 15,000 chemical facil-

(Continued on Page 36)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Difficult Loves

JOHN PALATTELLA

It wasn't until 1996, when President Bill Clinton declared April to be National Poetry Month, that the eminent translator and poet Richard Howard truly grasped the significance of the opening words of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, "April is the cruelest month." "At last we have succeeded in wreaking on poetry what the worst excesses of Progressive Education and the Palmer Method were helpless to effect: We have ghettoized a millennial human expression previously conceived as a pervasive part of conscious life," Howard declared at a PEN awards ceremony that May. "If we are to save poetry," he insisted, we must restore it "to that status of seclusion and even secrecy that characterizes only our authentic pleasures and identifies only our intimately valued actions." Robert Pinsky, then the poet laureate of the United States, disagreed. "Poetry is part of our shared communal life, as surely as is the Internet," Pinsky wrote in a defense of National Poetry Month published in the *New York Times*. Pinsky's observation is true, although with the adjective "shared" he seemed to want to draw a veil over some pesky questions. If poetry is integral to communal life, why must we be reminded of that fact every April, with all the labored cheerleading and hectic marketing of a big church holiday? Is poetry meaningfully involved in cultural life only if it preoccupies us in the same way as the Internet? Pinsky's genial tone of accommodation softened Howard's abrasiveness, but not the force of Howard's point.

Dana Gioia, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), has pitched his tent in Pinsky's camp. In *Disappearing Ink*, Gioia laments that no American poet today has achieved the kind of fame and influence with a popular audience that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow enjoyed in the nineteenth century. The work of most contemporary poets is culturally marginal, and for Gioia marginality is an artistic dead end. But poets can return to public prominence and revitalize their art, Gioia claims in his book's title essay, if they follow the lead of rappers, cowboy poets and poetry slammers. The emergence of electronic media like television and the Internet, he says, borrowing heavily from Marshall McLuhan's theories about media, has "slightly readjust[ed] the contemporary sensibility in favor of sound and orality." Rappers and slammers embody this readjusted sensibility because they compose for the ear and transmit their verse through performance. Roland Barthes reveled in the death of the author; Gioia rejoices in the death of the text. "American culture conditioned by electronic media and a celebrity culture based on personalities has given birth to a new kind of author," he proclaims: "the amplified bard."

In July the NEA released "Reading at Risk," a report lamenting the precipitate decline of literary reading in the face of electronic media over the past two decades. Why, then, in *Disappearing Ink* would its chairman extol poets and audiences who forgo the book for the amp? Equally perplexing is Gioia's claim that the popularity of poetry readings among "literary" poets who still compose for the page signals the emergence of a vibrant oral culture. There's a more persuasive claim to be made about such literary readings: They are less an oral alternative to print culture than a commercial adjunct of it, a way for poets to promote new books in a marketplace where reviews and advertisements of poetry are rare. Nor is there a lock-and-key fit between the Internet and orality, as Gioia implies. For the past few years some poets have approached Google as a *détournement* machine, using the search function as a phrase generator and assembling the results into cut-up poems. (In some circles the method and poems go by the name of "flarf.") As bewildering or irritating as spam, this work is defiantly typographic and can be downright impossible to read aloud, amplified or not.

But what do I know? I'm the kind of critic who Gioia complains is ill equipped to assess innovations in contemporary poetry because my tastes are based in part on

John Palattella writes about poetry for The Nation *and other publications.*

BOOKS DISCUSSED IN THIS ESSAY:

DISAPPEARING INK: Poetry at the End of Print Culture.
By Dana Gioia.
Graywolf.
271 pp. Paper $16.

THE RESISTANCE TO POETRY.
By James Longenbach.
Chicago.
123 pp. $25.

A DEFENSE OF ARDOR.
By Adam Zagajewski.
Translated by Clare Cavanagh.
Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
208 pp. $24.

COIN OF THE REALM: Essays on the Life and Art of Poetry.
By Carl Phillips.
Graywolf.
246 pp. Paper $15.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the "antiquarian assumptions" of Modernism, which "reflect a culture without radio, talking films, television, videocassettes, computers, cell phones, satellite dishes, and the Internet." If media harmony between a critic's era and that of his subject is the basis of critical judgment, then Gioia's enthusiasm in *Disappearing Ink* for Robert Frost, Elizabeth Bishop and Jack Spicer, all of whom made do with pens or typewriters, is peculiar indeed.

Such contradictions pile up in Gioia's essays because Gioia is a critic who needs antagonisms to justify his enthusiasms. His preferred approach is the American *Kulturkampf* of the people clashing with a treacherous elite. In *Disappearing Ink*, Gioia worries that because of the lingering influence of literary poetry's elite and antiquated conventions, which favor composition for the page instead of the stage, poetry risks being crushed by more popular media like the Internet. Similarly, more than ten years ago in the title piece of *Can Poetry Matter?* Gioia claimed that poetry was no longer part of the mainstream of artistic and intellectual life, a state of affairs he attributed to the elitism of creative writing programs. In that same book, however, he recycled the argument of Edmund Wilson's 1934 essay "Is Verse a Dying Technique?," in which Wilson contends that since the late eighteenth century the refinement of the lyric has led poets to forsake history and satire as suitable subjects, thereby diminishing poetry's popular appeal. If that's true, then those elite creative writing programs are not the cause but merely the most recent symptom of a rot that set in more than two centuries ago. In both *Can Poetry Matter?* and *Disappearing Ink*, a tendency to offer foregone conclusions instead of genuine arguments makes it easier for Gioia to reassure readers that poetry can regain its cultural prominence if it escapes the clutches of writing programs or absorbs the oral characteristics of electronic media. This style of argumentation is aided by Gioia's polite but pushy essayistic style, one that, for all its apparent specificity, is essentially general and vague.

Such are the tricks critics contrive when they try to exaggerate poetry's cultural prominence. In his intelligent, elegant and valuable defense of poetry, James Longenbach emphasizes what poets gain by not being subject to the pressures of a high-stakes market or mediascape. "It's difficult to complain about poetry's expanding audience," Longenbach says, taking up Richard Howard's argument without his caustic tone, "but it's more difficult to ask what a culture that wants poetry to be popular wants poetry to be. The audience has by and large been purchased at the cost of poetry's inwardness: its strangeness, its propensity to defeat its own expectations." In Gioia's eyes, a poet who avoids a mass audience is almost by definition arrogant, but for Longenbach such avoidance "could also be liberating—the creation of a space in which a poem may be pushed to extremes the culture wouldn't know how to purchase or ignore." After all, it is because Emily Dickinson refused to cleanse her poems of their unorthodox rhythms and rhymes, thereby preserving a "status of seclusion and secrecy," that she and her poems are now so well-known. Poems claim our attention, Longenbach argues, inasmuch as they effectively resist it.

In nine lucid chapters written in a style often as supple as the poems discussed, Longenbach examines what he calls techniques of poetic self-resistance: the formal tool kit (line, syntax, metaphor, voice, disjunction) that poets use to question their own convictions, working by glimmers and glints instead of tidy sums. Longenbach's approach is deceptively simple. He scrutinizes poetry's formal qualities, but he is not a formalist in the conventional sense of being ahistorical. Discussing a wide range of work but focusing mostly on modern poems, Longenbach is careful to explain how a poem's omission of historical content is not necessarily a repression of historical knowledge. The historical texture of a poem may be measured by its formal dynamics more than the weight of its content, as in Michael Palmer's "Seven Poems Within a Matrix of War," a sequence of poems concerning the first Gulf War, or Wallace Stevens's "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction," written during the early years of the Second World War.

Readers of poetry often stress its difference from ordinary language. In his provocative essay, Longenbach does just the opposite.

Equally provocative is Longenbach's defense of poetic language. In order to promote poetry in an indifferent culture, champions of poetry often try to define the mystical difference of poetic language from ordinary language. Longenbach does the opposite, stressing what the two languages have in common. Poems exploit rather than suppress the slippages of ordinary language, he explains, and what demands our attention is how a poet makes the ineradicable ambiguities of ordinary language uniquely adequate to the subject a poem must express. Or, to borrow a notion from Peter Gizzi's "Ding Repair," what demands our attention is how poetic language unfolds into meaning, ordinary and rare each time:

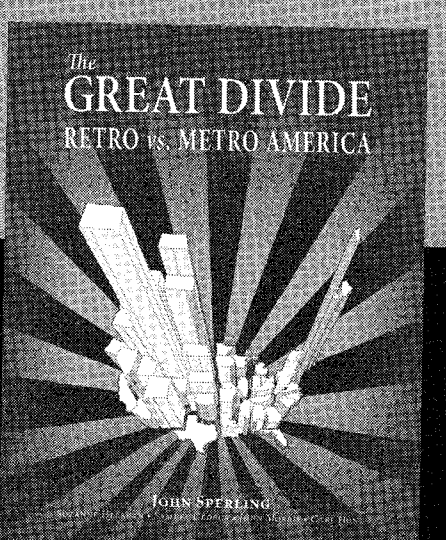
> A hummingbird at the scarlet bell works
> the vine.
> Even as adults we hope to witness
> ordinary spectacle
> evolve into meaning, ordinary and rare
> each time
> the ribbon, the wave—all bent.
> For if those memos, phone calls, holidays
> were to accrue then where would we be?

Longenbach says that the resistance to poetry is the wonder of poetry, "the reinvention of humility," a formulation that calls to mind the romantic poet John Keats's description of negative capability as the ability of a poet to be "in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason." But Longenbach's wonder more closely resembles Adam Zagajewski's notion of ardor. The fourth essay collection by Zagajewski to be translated into English, *A Defense of Ardor* contains appreciations of and quarrels with writers, painters and philosophers. Written with his characteristic delicacy, gravity and wit, the book is notable for the acute, thoughtful way that the Polish poet frames and examines literary and intellectual issues. Zagajewski craves ardor after reading Tzvetan Todorov's essay on Dutch still-life painting, *In Praise of the Quotidian*, which Zagajewski attacks for suggesting that artists must become "deft miniaturists" immune to moments of experience that are "incomprehensible and piercing, both extravagant and absolutely fundamental." Yet Zagajewski also craves ardor after reading E.M. Cioran's *Notebooks*, an "uncommonly irritating" work in which Cioran's extreme narcissism fuels scabrous rants against quotidian life. Zagajewski finds the residue of ardor in Plato's concept of *metaxu*, the state of being "incurably en route," and he finds ardor flourishing in the climate of thought cultivated by the painter Jozef Czapski and the poets Czeslaw Milosz and Zbigniew Herbert, who "answered history's menace in universal, not provincial ways. And they touched profound hopes while shunning easy consolations."

Longenbach also thinks wonder arises from shunning easy consolations, but the roots of his notion of wonder stretch deeply into a uniquely American and pragmatic source, one running from Emily Dickinson ("In insecurity to lie/is Joy's in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAKE BACK AMERICA. ONE PAGE AT A TIME.



THE GREAT DIVIDE

Retro vs. Metro America

BY JOHN SPERLING WITH SUZANNE HELBURN, SAMUEL GEORGE, CARL HUNT AND JOHN MORRIS

Published by polipoint press

Learn more and download the book at retrovsmetro.org
On sale exclusively at amazon.com/greatdivide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suring quality") through Wallace Stevens and George Oppen to John Ashbery. These are poets who love flux, who build elaborate metaphors while simultaneously warning of their collapse, whose poems ride on linguistic sliding, whose voices speak because they are shattered. They are playfully serious poets who work hard to foreground the infinitely repeatable work of interpretation and knowing. And their work isn't without hazards. "If the resistance to poetry is the wonder of poetry," Longenbach asks, "how do we prevent resistance from becoming a fetish, something with which we are merely fascinated?" By reminding ourselves constantly that "the power of a poem inheres in the realization that we cannot count on it." No matter how graceful its language, no matter how resourcefully it mines the ambiguities of ordinary language, a poem can never obviate the pressures of the ordinary world because a poem's consolation, knitted from figurative language, will unravel and slip away. Or not.

Early in his book Longenbach invokes the example of Callimachus, the ancient Greek poet who refused the Homeric challenge of writing an epic, preferring instead to write love poems and elegies. Callimachus was scorned by his peers for ignoring his civic duties and thereby diminishing the possibilities for poetry. Longenbach draws a different lesson from Callimachus's choice: It was only because Callimachus was acutely suspicious about the nature of poetic ambition that he could force his best discoveries against the walls of his own ambition's limitations. That example informs the most incisive essays of Carl Phillips's *Coin of the Realm* as well, although the straw men that shamble through the book sometimes elbow Callimachus aside. Phillips has a tendency to carp about younger poets' suspicions about exercising authority without explaining exactly what he means, and his single-mindedness about this issue cuts deeply against the poetics he elaborates in his book.

The ghost of Callimachus enters the picture when Phillips discusses the poetry of the seventeenth-century Protestant pastor George Herbert, who chose to wrestle with an epic subject, the perplexing ways of God to man ("why affliction?—why, inevitably, our suffering?"), in the narrow confines of the intricate lyric poems of *The Temple*. "Herbert persuades by the very thing with which his poems are so frequently ill at ease: his flawed self," Phillips claims. "It is not so much that he admits to flaw…but that he brings flaw into view as instructive example." Phillips is a poet with seven books to his name, and the relentless deliberation he finds in Herbert's lyrics quickens his own work too. "Phillips is not discouraged but enthralled by this state of perpetually suspended rediscovery," Longenbach writes in *The Resistance to Poetry*. "He wants the world to be difficult to see because our understanding leaps too quickly from the *choice* to the *chosen*, from what is *findable* to what is *found*." But what's different about Phillips's portrait of Herbert's deliberation is its spiritual hue. Without relentless deliberation, Phillips implies, there can be no desire and surrender; without desire and surrender there can be no faith; and without faith there can be no relentless deliberation.

The poems of Herbert's that Phillips discusses were composed as a private confession of the desire for an incomprehensible and piercing kind of knowledge. That gesture of inwardness is about as far as one can get from the very public arena of the Internet—or, to use Gioia's lingo, from today's auditory avant-garde. Not unlike Herbert's poems, Longenbach's and Zagajewski's defenses of poetry, along with Phillips's best essays, are rich and rewarding proof that the will to believe passionately in the fictions of poetry is not always hostage to the salvation schemes of the overchurched and the intellectually naïve. ■

Of Human Bondage

ROBIN BLACKBURN

AVENGERS OF THE NEW WORLD: The Story of the Haitian Revolution. By Laurent Dubois. Harvard. 357 pp. $29.95.

A COLONY OF CITIZENS: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804. By Laurent Dubois. North Carolina. 452 pp. Paper $22.50.

In the sequence of revolutions that remade the Atlantic world between 1776 and 1825, the Haitian Revolution is rarely given its due, yet without it the progressive credentials of the others would be far weaker. The revolutions—American, French, Haitian and Spanish-American—should be seen as a chain, each helping to radicalize the next. The American Revolution launched an idea of popular sovereignty that helped to destroy the French monarchy. The French Revolution, dramatic as its impact on the Old World was, also became a fundamental event in the New—curiously, a more important catalyst than the revolt of the thirteen English colonies of North America, since it undermined empire and slavery throughout the hemisphere. Revolutionary struggles in Haiti, the richest slave colony of the Americas, set the scene for a massive slave uprising in August 1791 and prompted the National Convention's decree of 16 Pluviôse An II (February 4, 1794), which abolished slavery throughout the French colonies. The Convention was spurred to action by delegates from Haiti (then known as Saint Domingue) who argued that, faced with a British invasion and the defection of many royalist planters, only such a radical step could save the Republic by rallying more black insurgents to its side.

The French Revolutionary offensive struck down slave property at a time when the pressure of the *sans-culottes* on the Convention was at its height. Perhaps only the Jacobins at their most radical could have inaugurated the policy, but, following Robespierre's overthrow in Thermidor, it was to be sustained by the Directory down to the end of the 1790s. Slave insurrections were fostered in the Spanish colonies and English islands. Guadeloupe was liberated by the French revolutionary Victor Hugues, the "Robespierre of the Antilles," with the help of a newly recruited *légion de la liberté*, comprising "colored" men (free men of mixed race) and former slaves. Among those sent packing was Benedict Arnold, who had joined the British expedition as a war contractor. In Saint Domingue the black army led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, a former slave, deserted its Spanish patron and joined the republican ranks. With matériel sent from France, L'Ouverture created a well-armed and disciplined force, which drove the Spanish and the British from the colony by 1798. Overall, the British, who had to

Robin Blackburn is the author of The Making of New World Slavery *and* The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, *both published by Verso.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fight hard to regain Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenada, lost 90,000 soldiers in the Caribbean as a whole, a higher total than in Europe.

Toussaint L'Ouverture insisted that Saint Domingue remain French, but he dealt with Britain and the United States like a sovereign power. His army included white and colored, as well as black, commanders. He invited émigré planters to return. In 1802 Napoleon sought to reassert metropolitan power and to re-establish slavery. L'Ouverture was captured, and died in France, but the expeditionary force, commanded by Napoleon's brother-in-law, Gen. Charles Leclerc, was defeated, with a loss of 50,000 men, including Leclerc himself. In 1804 the black generals declared the new Republic of Haiti, with a constitution that outlawed slavery and declared that all citizens were legally black. The name of the new state, a homage to the island's precolonial inhabitants, signaled the break with empire.

In 1816 Haiti's president, Alexandre Pétion, helped Simón Bolívar mount the invasion that was ultimately to defeat the Spanish empire in the Americas. In return, Bolívar promised to free his own slaves and adopt measures to extinguish slavery in the lands he was to free. Many South Americans no doubt recalled this historic act when Hugo Chávez, the president of Venezuela, offered asylum to Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the recently ousted president of Haiti.

Laurent Dubois believes that the events in the former French colony mark a watershed. "They were," he writes in *Avengers of the New World*, "the most concrete expression of the idea that the rights proclaimed in France's 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen were indeed universal. They could not be quarantined in Europe or prevented from landing in the ports of the colonies, as many had argued they should be. The slave insurrection in Saint Domingue led to the expansion of citizenship beyond racial barriers despite the massive political and economic investment in the slave system at the time." A professor of history at Michigan State University, Dubois sees the revolution in Haiti as a cultural, intellectual and political event, holding out the ideal of a society in which, in principle, people of all colors were granted freedom and citizenship. While this ideal was difficult to achieve in practice, the Haitian Revolution also had a very tangible success. It struck a mighty blow against slavery where it was strongest, in the plantation zone. "If we live in a world in which democracy is meant to exclude no one, it is in no small part because of the actions of those slaves in Saint Domingue who insisted that human rights were theirs too."

These conclusions are more controversial than you might suppose. Some historians think the liberation in Haiti was so bloody and chaotic, and the results so tarnished, that it actually set back a true and deliberate emancipation by several decades. But Dubois's reasoning is compelling. The slavery of this epoch was buttressed by the sacredness of private property and derogatory concepts of race. Planters were well represented in ruling institutions throughout the Atlantic world. Their power was based on guns, cutlasses and whips as well as racial fears, money and political contacts. They would not be swayed simply by appeals to their better nature, nor would they yield without a struggle. Slavery could be successfully challenged only when there was a profound crisis, usually triggered by war, revolution and slave revolt, capable of neutralizing these powerful supports of the slave system. In 1790 there were 450,000 slaves in Saint Domingue, 700,000 in the United States. The awesome scale of the events in Saint Domingue instilled a sort of permanent panic in the minds of slaveowners, leading them to redouble their security and to reach out to potential allies.

The liberation in Saint Domingue showed that the slave order was highly vulnerable in plantation colonies, where 80 percent of the population was enslaved. British and French West Indian planters were to accept emancipation—with compensation and continuing title to their landed property—partly because they remembered Haiti. Where slaves were not a majority—the United States, Cuba and Brazil—slaveowners had hope so long as they could count on the support of the state and the great majority of free citizens. In Brazil and Cuba the planters cleaved loyally to monarchy. In the United States, Thomas Jefferson's anti-Federalist campaign and "revolution of 1800" can be seen as a bold response to the plumes of smoke rising from the plantations in Saint Domingue. Democratic Republicanism offered enhanced rights and status to white citizens and, in so doing, helped to build what Alexander Saxton has called the White Republic, itself a recycling of the compact of "American slavery and American freedom" that Edmund Morgan has identified as a hallmark of the colonial period. Though not socially radical, the revolution of 1800 was the first time in history that all free men voted and that a partisan clash led to a change of government. Before this the gentry in each section had given leadership to the people of their own

my name is mr. kranky and I approved this message

out Oct. 4:
Keith Fullerton Whitman Schöner Flußengel LP "It's a pleasure to hear an artist defy easy categorisation." Limited edition vinyl-only release.
The Dead Texan The Dead Texan CD-DVD "pieces of awe-inspiring grace" and DVD with music videos from Adam Wiltzie of Stars of the Lid.
out Oct. 18:
Growing The Soul of the Rainbow and the Harmony of Light CD "This is not an all-encompassing ocean of sound. This is an all-encompassing typhoon."
Greg Davis Somnia CD "the music comes off as a perfect fusion of silicon and psilocybin inspiration"
Various Artists ***kompilation*** 2xCD Over 148 minutes of music from kranky artists for under the price of a CD EP.
out Nov. 1:
Christina Carter Living Contact CD Reissue of CDR by Charalambides' singer/ guitarist. "..a guitar sound that is intensely personal and uniquely hers."
Autistic Daughters Jealousy and Diamond CD Trio of Dean Roberts, Martin Brandlmayr (Radian, Trapist) and Werner Dafeldecker.

kranky

kranky P.O. Box 259319 Chicago, IL 60625
www.kranky.net for sound samples, streaming video, free exclusive MP3s and to order via credit card or paypal.

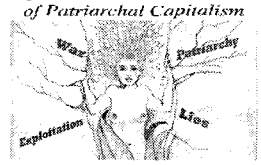
GEORGE W. BUSH "DOPE" ON A ROPE!

Wash away your anger with the "president" you can hang in your shower! Finally, Bush is cleaning up America... one arm-pit at a time! Watch him shrink! The perfect election year gift.
$10.00 per dope on a rope.
All natural soap. Proceeds from sales will help to elect a real president! 310-980-5353

www.dopeonarope.com

A RADICALLY DIFFERENT WORLD VIEW IS POSSIBLE

The Gift Economy Inside and Outside of Patriarchal Capitalism



November 12-14, 2004
Clark County Library
1401 East Flamingo Road, Las Vegas, NV

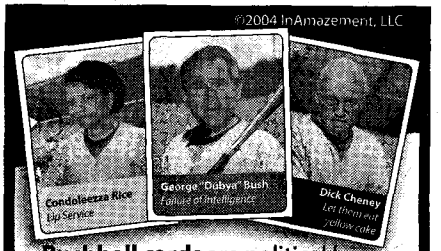
SPEAKERS
•Vandana Shiva (India)
•Ana Isla (Peru/Canada)
•Miliłani Trask (Hawaii)
•Genevieve Vaughan (USA)
•Paula Gunn Allen (USA)
•Corinne Kumar (India/Tunisia)
•Claudia Von Werlhof (Austria)
•Heide Gottner Abendroth (Germany)
and many others

Whoever wins the U.S. election, a new cultural alignment is necessary for the survival of the planet. A radically different world view can liberate an alternative culture based on the leadership of women

www.GiftEconomyConference.com
(512) 444-1672

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©2004 InAmazement, LLC



Bushball cards are political baseball cards that slam the right wing. Just like real baseball cards, they have images and stats, along with some of our own text. To order, **www.bushballcards.com**
Each pack of 8 cards is $4.99

REMEMBER...

..and keep your hopes within reason this election season.

To order t-shirt with this vivid woodcut by Benson Whittle or to choose from a dazzling array of contrarian bumper stickers, visit **www.controvert.com**
Brandish our messages and CONTROVERT The HERD

Travel Redefined

"[The Reality Tour] was more of a learning experience than I could have imagined. It was just incredible!"
—Participant on Palestine Delegation

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 ext. 221 | www.globalexchange.org

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips
Worldwide. First Class Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

ADVERTISE IN *THE NATION*
(212) 209-5414

HONESTY and SINCERITY: An American Possibility
by Karen Hardtke
A refreshing view of how people served the republic honestly before there was an appointed regime. $12. Karen Hardtke, P.O. Box 157, Pengilly, MN 55775.

colony or state but not embroiled themselves in the popular politics of other regions. Ignoring this unwritten rule, Jefferson appealed directly to the discontented in New York and Pennsylvania, and in so doing helped to construct a barrier to sectional strife. Jefferson never uttered the word slavery, but Southern Bourbons, like Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, knew that the slaveholder was their man. The risk was that the newly enfranchised might not be long-term friends of slavery; the insurance was that, according to the Jeffersonian doctrine, each state had a right to nullify federal laws they found inimical.

In registering the impact the smoldering plantations of Saint Domingue had on North America, we should remember that many refugee planters, with their slave retinues, sought haven in Philadelphia and New York. The belated phasing out of slavery in New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804)—freeing the children born to slave mothers when they reached adulthood—discouraged such unwelcome guests in those states. In 1807, in a further prudential step, both Britain and the United States ended legal participation in the Atlantic slave trade. The formula of the white man's republic was quite compatible with setting limits on slavery and the slave trade, just as it was with establishing a *cordon sanitaire* around Haiti.

While new compromises secured an extra term for slavery in the Americas, the institution was still haunted by what had happened in Saint Domingue. Toussaint L'Ouverture's epic struggle inspired anti-slavery agitators like William Lloyd Garrison. The very existence of Haiti emboldened African-Americans to reach for freedom, as Frederick Douglass testified.

Understanding of the Haitian Revolution is not enhanced by the seductive and romantic notion that slaves were bound to rebel, bound to champion a general emancipation and bound to triumph. Resistance has been ubiquitous in slave systems, but it has usually been particularistic—freedom for a given person or group—and often frustrated. In fact, the Haitian Revolution is the only successful large-scale slave revolt known to history.

We should also bear in mind that the slavery encountered in Saint Domingue and throughout the New World had been invented by planters and colonial officials, using European legal notions. Much slave resistance in Saint Domingue in the 1790s took the form of a demand for three free days a week (instead of one), or the right to choose one's overseer. While some freed themselves simply by running away, others remained, unwilling to leave provision grounds that they saw as rightfully theirs. Only those of African descent were enslaved, but the racial logic was complicated by the fact that free colored masters owned about a quarter of the slaves in the French colony. The colored proprietors, unlike the whites, lived in the colony. While born a slave, L'Ouverture had been a freedman and slaveowner. He was to sympathize with the planters' desire for an obedient labor force.

There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of books about the Haitian Revolution, but only a handful are indispensable. *Avengers of the New World* joins that select company. A powerful narrative informed by the latest research, it digs beneath ready-made notions—whether of purely heroic rebels or of implacable caste hatreds—to bring to light the forging of new identities and new ideals. While *Avengers* concentrates on the tangle of events that ended in the founding of Haiti, Dubois's other new book, *A Colony of Citizens*, focuses on the much less well known events in Guadeloupe. Previously, English readers who wanted to learn about the extraordinary saga of Victor Hugues had to consult the informative novel *Explosion in a Cathedral* (originally published as *El Siglo de las Luces*) by Alejo Carpentier, the Cuban inventor of magic realism. *A Colony of Citizens*, based on much original research, at last enables us to assess the true importance of battles in the Eastern Caribbean, which help to explain the outcome in Saint Domingue. This book also provides an excellent account of the wider Caribbean and metropolitan context. Particularly valuable is its discussion of how French abolitionism and republicanism were tested in the New World—and how they yielded new conclusions when adopted by former slaves and the partisans of black liberation.

Dubois acknowledges a debt to *The Black Jacobins* by C.L.R. James, the Trinidadian writer. A notable achievement of that book, published in 1938, was to capture the momentum of the liberation struggle without ignoring its extraordinary complexity. Another achievement was his skill in registering the persistent, and ultimately triumphant, strivings of a myriad of local leaders who refused to give up, even at times when L'Ouverture and the other famous chiefs had capitulated.

James was a Pan-African activist and a follower of Leon Trotsky, not an academic. He nevertheless raised the study of the Haitian Revolution to a new level, drawing on a mass of sources in several languages. He was equally familiar with events in the me-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tropolis and in the colony. Above all, he conveyed the nature of revolutionary upheavals with powerful understanding and in stirring prose. In recent years his work has helped to inspire a new "Atlantic history," which challenges the imperial narrative and refuses the limits of national historiography. (Another work of Jamesian inspiration, Carolyn Fick's 1990 study *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution From Below*, showed slave insurgency to have been even more widespread than James supposed.)

Laurent Dubois's two books further the Jamesian perspective not only by conveying the creativity of the slave rebels but also by capturing the multiple, overlapping conflicts of rich and poor, slaves and masters, colonists and imperialists, whites and people of color, free people of color and enslaved blacks. It has always been too easy to see every clash as, at bottom, about race. But those with a stake in empire, or committed to the defense of the republic, could insist that citizenship trumped race. And despite clashes between black and colored leaders, both were eventually united against the restoration of a slave regime that degraded free people of color.

The title *Black Jacobins* challenged both the idea that emancipation had been a gift bestowed by the Republic and the idea that slave revolt was its own program. The black Jacobins found something in the ideology of the French Revolution that helped them to elevate and generalize their struggle. At the same time, they radicalized the ideas they appropriated and eventually defended them against France itself. The travail of Africa's sons and daughters in the New World plantations gave their own specific sense to the freedom they claimed.

Why did Napoleon allow the other Atlantic powers to draw him into a disastrous attempt to restore slavery? Dubois cites a note from the British prime minister on peace negotiations with France, in which he explains: "[The] interests of the two governments is [*sic*] exactly the same—to destroy Jacobinism, especially that of the Blacks." It is easy to see why Britain, the United States and Spain, with their valuable slave plantations, would welcome the destruction of the new black power; it is more difficult to see why Napoleon allowed himself to become their instrument. The revolutionary policy in the Caribbean had been a success, inflicting huge losses on France's main enemy, the British. The attempt to restore slavery was bound to make it far more difficult to regain control in Saint Domingue. The British baited their trap by offering to return Martinique. When the British occupied this French island they insulated it from revolutionary emancipation, so their offer to return it with slavery intact was as compromising as it was tempting. Jefferson's envoys were also happy to encourage Napoleon in a course of action that would yield advantage whatever the outcome—weakening or destroying either Toussaint or Napoleon, or both—and would facilitate a deal over Louisiana.

Napoleon later blamed the advice of émigré "colonists and capitalists"— many of them his wife's friends and relatives. They played skillfully on his lust for empire. He saw the plantations of the New World as a glittering prize and wished to see the specter of revolution banished from them. It was not just some Caribbean islands that were at stake. He dreamt of being able easily to subordinate Spain and Portugal, together with their valuable colonies.

The failure of well-armed British, French and Spanish forces in Saint Domingue testified to the former slaves' deep aversion to slavery, whatever the disappointments of freedom. But at what point did the mass of rebels adopt the ideal of a generalized liberty? As Dubois points out, the first written account by a Haitian of the Bois-Caïman ceremony, which launched the revolt of 1791, dates from the 1820s and was written by Hérard Dumesle, a poet steeped in classical authorities. Herodotus put suitable eve-of-battle speeches into the mouths of barbarian chiefs—"let us die fighting rather than live on our knees"—just as he did with Roman generals. So was the commitment to liberty cited by Dumesle a faithful record of the oral tradition, or was it a classical trope? We cannot know for sure, but Dubois argues that the widespread adoption of the Bois-Caïman legend in Haitian voodoo is itself historically significant. The *houngan*, or priest, will sometimes echo the cry at Bois-Caïman: *Couté la Liberté dan Coeur à nous* ("Listen to the Liberty that is in our hearts").

In the aftermath of the great revolt of August 1791, the main black leaders negotiated a deal with the Republican Commissioners that would have freed only themselves and 400 followers. James branded this an abominable betrayal. Maroon leaders had often reached similar agreements, and even helped to suppress other revolts, so this is harsh. But perhaps the criteria had changed; French documents report general demands for liberty as early as September 1791. However, it was not until August 29, 1793, that rival leaders—Sonthonax, the Republican Commissioner, and L'Ouverture, still

Spread the Word
Women Count
Get Out The Vote!*
* Only 22% of single women voted in the 2000 election
The Pedro®
Two-sided Ceramic Pedicure Stone For softer, smoother feet year round
ECKERD
Walgreens
TWEEZERMAN®
Striving to Promote Responsible Capitalism
For a store near you call
1-888-887-5825 or visit tweezerman.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patriotsact.net™
The net's best spot for liberal lit.
The books we read.
The authors who write them.
The issues they raise.
10% of book sales go to the charity of your choice.
Sign up for our free e-newsletter!

They said it! Sonone had to put it on a button!
Our Election'04 Button Set
$5 for 2 sets or FREE with t-shirt purchase
I'm a War President
BUSH '04
Go fuck yourself!
CHENEY '04
I.M.F'D
US?
www.PROTESTWORKS.com
or write POB 424906, SF, CA 94142
Antiwar, anti-Bush t-shirts & buttons

The people who cast the votes decide nothing. The people who count the votes decide everything.
- Josef Stalin
"Stalin Quote" t-shirt • item #1861 • sizes S-3X
Northern Sun Merchandising
products for progressives since 1979
t-shirts • buttons • bumperstickers • custom work
to order, or for a free catalog • 800.258.8579 xTN
www.northernsun.com

THE BUSH RECORD
There's no disputing the Bush administration's divisive and extreme policies on the war, the environment, the economy, etc.
Sign up for Pesky Reminders at
★ ★ ★ www.peskyfacts.com ★ ★ ★

Trouble in Paradise
2 years in Florida politics - A people's history of Election 2000 and beyond
"Immensely interesting" - Frances Fox Piven
"Moving, witty, troubling" - Alexander Keyssar
On VHS and DVD - $30 plus S & H
www.troubleinparadise.org

a Spanish general—issued unambiguous proclamations calling for a complete end to slavery. We don't know whether this really was a coincidence, or whether one of them tactically backdated his declaration, so they share the honor.

The slaves' conquest of freedom was to test a cherished abolitionist conviction. The new political economy of the late eighteenth century had encouraged anti-slavery thinking by insisting that free workers were more productive than slaves. But Napoleon was not the only one to doubt this. The former slaves of Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe abandoned plantation toil whenever they could, instead devoting themselves to subsistence cultivation. They lived better but brought much less to market. Both Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti and Victor Hugues in Guadeloupe sought to impose heavy labor obligations on the former slaves, though not with complete success. Dubois cites several attempts to grapple with the problem of devising a post-slavery plantation regime. When Julien Raimond, a leading man of color, was appointed a Revolutionary Commissioner he appealed to the newly liberated in the following terms: "It is necessary that you continue to work after acquiring your liberty not only to procure all the things necessary for your new state but further to acquire property that will protect you in your later years from want and misery." He added that they would soon discover other obligations: "In order to be equal to the free you will have to work...to procure all the objects of luxury and convenience that distinguish the free from the slave."

The former slaves were deaf to such appeals—they appreciated the luxury of free time and the convenience of meeting their own needs through their own efforts. Only force, not unreliable offers of pay, kept some at work. In Saint Domingue the new peasants preferred to clear some space in the forest than to return to the harsh and badly paid work of the plantations. Eventually coffee cultivation, based on small-holder production, did recover. In the 1820s Haiti was again one of the leading producers in the Americas. But as the demand for coffee grew by leaps and bounds in later decades, it was the slave-owning planters of Brazil who proved capable of doubling their crop each decade. In an increasingly free market, slave labor proved far more effective than free at mobilizing plantation labor throughout the Americas, whether it was for coffee, cotton or sugar.

The more radical abolitionists were not discouraged by evidence that slavery could be profitable, since their indictment focused on the inhumanity and immorality of slaveholding. Whether white or colored, they still found confirmation of their beliefs in the history of Saint Domingue/Haiti, which showed both that slavery would breed violence and that the former slaves would never tolerate a return to their former condition. Under slavery the population of African descent increased only because of slave imports. In the half-century after emancipation, the population roughly doubled. The best years of the new republic coincided with President Jean-Pierre Boyer's rule from the 1820s to the 1840s, but it still faced ostracism from the main Atlantic powers. The United States did not recognize Haiti until 1862. France did offer recognition, and access to the French market, but at a stiff price—Haiti was obliged to compensate the former planters for the loss of their estates. The large loan that made this possible in the 1820s saddled Haiti with repayments for decades to come. Aristide called upon France to make restitution of these monies, only to find Paris joining Washington in conspiring to remove him.

Dubois's books appear at a quite different moment from James's classic. Whereas *The Black Jacobins* heralded the dawn of anticolonialism, Dubois's studies appear at a time when the false romance and real misery of empire are being rediscovered in Baghdad and, once again, in Port-au-Prince. In Iraq the Anglo-American coalition unleashed further havoc by dismantling the Iraqi Army. In Haiti the occupying forces of the Organization of American States are contending with the legacy of a previous US occupation, nearly a decade ago, that restored Aristide without an army, and on condition that he impose an austerity package. At the time of an earlier US occupation a Haitian critic noted the failure to let the country's people learn their own lessons, quoting the local saying: *Tambour prêté pas fait bon danse* ("The borrowed drum doesn't make a good dance").

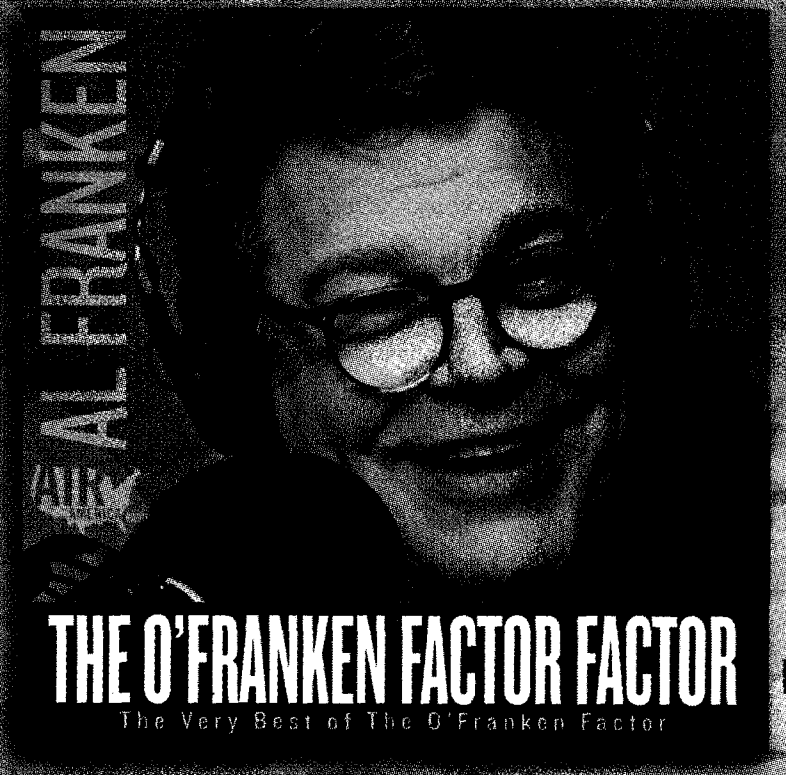
In earlier times the Haitian people were both protected and burdened by an army that barred the way to conquest and recolonization. Napoleon instructed Leclerc to remove every "colored person...who has worn an epaulette." The people of Haiti needed to be able to defend their newly won liberty in a still hostile environment, but the new republic struggled to meet the cost of a standing army and of foreign loans. The army might have done more to earn its keep if it had restricted the overworking of the land, prevented the destruction of forests and rehabilitated the irrigation system,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Never doubt that a single compact disc can change the world.

Indeed it's the only thing that ever has."

—Al Franken



AIR AMERICA RADIO

In stores now, or order online at

www.airamericaradio.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

established by French military engineers, which had boosted the fertility of colonial Saint Domingue. Haiti's misfortune was to have a state and mercantile elite that was strong enough to exploit the small farmers but too ineffective to develop the country. The indigenous elite has presided over the country's immiseration along with foreign powers.

Dubois suggests that the soul of Haiti is found in a religious ceremony, not in a declaration of independence, a Constitution or a Panthéon. The spirit of the revolution lives on in the people but not yet—despite the efforts of such reformist leaders as Anténor Firmin, Jean Price-Mars or Aristide—in the formal trappings of the state. Though Haiti is dirt poor, its people are not defined by employment and consumption. In Haiti the legacy of the descendants of slaves and rebels comprises echoes of both a precapitalist past and of a mighty refusal of the first global experiment in labor-intensive outsourcing. Those who have seen Jonathan Demme's tremendous movie *The Agronomist*, will know that Haiti still produces men and women of extraordinary courage, tenacity and spirit, true heirs of those who established the first American state to end slavery. ■

FILMS

Styles of Radical Will

STUART KLAWANS

THE MOTORCYCLE DIARIES • WHEN WILL I BE LOVED • VANITY FAIR

One of South America's most brilliantly talented filmmakers has made a political road movie: the story of a young man who sets out on a journey of discovery and self-discovery through his vast continent. An essay in the higher vagabondage, you might call it, since this vulnerable hero, like most of the people he encounters en route, travels with few provisions other than his wits. The way is hard for him; and hanging over it, like a perpetual low cloud cover, is the weight of past struggles and present injustice. The young fellow, you see, has a tendency to brood. Fortunately, though, he also knows how to look, and so finds vividness and beauty welling up everywhere to sustain him (and the audience, too).

I won't claim the film is completely successful; but as a travelogue it's so intensely personal, as a political fable it's so alive with sharp observation, that I wish you could run out now and see it.

Too bad. *El Viaje*, by the extraordinary Argentine director Fernando Solanas, has gone undistributed in the United States since its completion in 1992. All we get is *The Motorcycle Diaries*.

It is a based-on-a-true-story movie—the same story, for all I know, that might have inspired *El Viaje*. In 1952, the 23-year-old Ernesto Guevara (not yet known as Che) set out with his 29-year-old buddy Alberto Granado on a trip that would take them from Buenos Aires to Patagonia, then across to Chile, up the spine of the Andes and into Venezuela. The friends, born of the middle class and poised for professional careers, had between them a sole vehicle for this adventure: a sputtering and unsteady motorcycle, vintage 1939.

Imagine, if you will, a few episodes where the motorcycle skids out of control and crashes on this or that country road. Imagine the inevitable final cough of the engine, far from the proposed destination, and the friends' decision to forge ahead anyway, on foot and by thumb. There will be quarrels and reconciliations, youthful pranks and attempts to get laid. And, of course, there will be an awakening of conscience—because, my God, there are poor people on this continent! Lots and lots of poor people! Think of their faces, staring in soulful forthrightness into the camera, while the film stock is changed to black and white for that forever-in-memory effect.

If you can picture all this—or, rather, predict it—then you've as good as seen *The Motorcycle Diaries*. No need to rely on director Walter Salles, whose dramatic sense and image-making skills don't merely lean on convention but embrace it, celebrate it, in direct contradiction to his protagonist's spirit.

Habits of mind are "a most terrible force," wrote the author V.I. Lenin, with whose works Che Guevara seems to have

During Vietnam, Kerry received five medals.
Bush received a dental exam.
The Angry Liberal Web Store: Shopping for liberals with bad attitudes! www.cafeshops.com/theangryliberal

Tuscany - Pisa/Florence area
Specialises in apartments in converted period properties
Wonderful opportunities to buy early at discount
From US $170,000
independent properties also available
English speaking agent will meet and escort
Tel: 0044 (0)208 406 7823
tuscanconnection@blueyonder.co.uk

Jose Chavez Morado
Death, War, Science
The Bryna Collection
Call: Dr. David Prensky
(561) 832-8511

What's Wrong With the Christian Right
Jan G. Linn
"A careful, thoughtful, well researched examination of those we call the Christian Right" —James Autry of People for the American Way
BrownWalkerPress (.com) $17.95

Fraud? Smear? Dirty Tricks? CIA?
A retaliation lawsuit against
Brown University?!
Why all the secrecy?
Break their news blackout!!
Read about it at
http://www.fraudatbrown.org

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called the children of God."
-Matthew 5:9
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America
www.bpfna.org

THE MACHIAVELLIAN NEOCONSERVATIVES
Commentary
http://www.worthingtonsworld.com

Radio Nation
Listen to the show at www.thenation.com

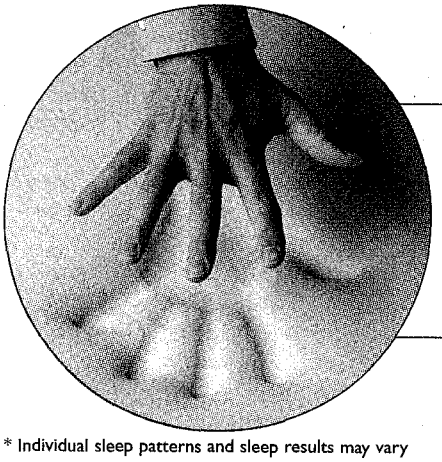
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLOUD 10 has found a way to give you the same great sleep surface as a $2,500 visco-elastic foam mattress for a price starting at less than $80

Mattress technology has finally taken a major leap forward. The sleep surfaces of traditional metal spring mattresses are proving to be a hindrance to a good night's rest. So for the 40 million Americans who have difficulty sleeping, your best bet—until now—has been to buy a new visco-elastic mattress. Visco-elastic foam uses a technology first developed by NASA to make the most comfortable sleep surface ever. The only problem is that these mattresses routinely cost about $2,500 for a queen size. Most of us wouldn't sleep well if we added that cost to our credit card!

If you own a decent mattress, don't throw it out—make it better! Add the CLOUD 10 Mattress topper and rejuvenate that mattress. The CLOUD 10 is a mattress topper made from 2 inches of heat sensitive visco-elastic memory foam. This material reacts to your body temperature, so the surface stays cool in the summer and warm in the winter. Over 9 out of 10 of our customers report that the contoured surface cradles their body and helps eliminate those pressure points created by traditional mattress surfaces. And 68% of our customers even reported less back and neck pain.

You may have seen the visco-foam mattress story on TV, but the secret is that only the top 2-3 inches of their $2,500 queen mattress is actually the technologically advanced visco-elastic foam. The rest of the mattress is standard foam. Well, you only sleep on the top two inches of your mattress, so we think that you should get the great benefits of visco-foam at prices starting under $80. Simply place the CLOUD 10 on top of your current mattress. We were able to make this price possible by working directly with the largest United States visco-foam manufacturer.



The CLOUD 10 mattress topper lets you experience the remarkable comfort of memory foam for 94% less cost than a visco-foam topped mattress.

We sent the CLOUD 10 to renowned Neurosurgeon Dr. William Beutler of the Pennsylvania Spine Institute, and he believes that the CLOUD 10 technology will maintain support for the spine. As we age, our cartilage is reduced and musculoskeletal aching increases. Therefore, we have designed the Cloud 10 to create a more comfortable night's sleep...and 94% of our customers agree.

Exclusive 99 night In-home trial. We are so sure that CLOUD 10 will improve the one third of your life that is spent in bed that we will offer you a no-questions asked in-home trial for 99 nights. If you're not sleeping significantly better and waking refreshed, send the mattress topper back for a full refund of the purchase price.

Enter the world of CLOUD 10...where every night's sleep is a perfect 10!

Prices starting at 2 payments of $39+ S&H.
Specify mattress size when ordering
Promotional Code CMT309-09
Please mention this when you call.

Toll-Free 24 hours a day
1-800-859-2923
To order by mail, please call for details.
We can also accept your check by phone

NEXTTEN
products for your next ten years.

14101 Southcross Drive West, Department CMT309-09
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

* Individual sleep patterns and sleep results may vary

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-2923**

Visit us online at www.NextTen.com to see the complete line of Cloud 10 Products

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been familiar. Generations of romantics and revolutionaries accordingly strove to break with routine patterns of seeing and speaking. That they often failed in this struggle—or, worse, came to enforce their own deadly regime of clichés—neither invalidates the project nor blots it from history. But what socialist realism could not wipe out, liberal self-congratulation may yet turn to mush. You will know what I mean if you've seen Salles's *Central Station*, the film that made Cinema Novo into something Disney might have produced; and you will anticipate from *The Motorcycle Diaries* a similarly Mickey Mouse Che.

He's played by Gael García Bernal, the slim and foxfaced young actor from *Amores Perros* and *Y Tu Mamá También*—not an ideal match for the historic figure, but a canny substitute at the present moment, when Che has returned as a trendy T-shirt. García Bernal makes a sweet loverboy Guevara, whose principal traits in the movie are weak bronchial tubes and a charming awkwardness on the dance floor. Think, in other words, of a Che from the strung-out waif era of fashion photography. Serving as his foil, and little else, is Granado (Rodrigo de la Serna): a more robust type, outfitted with an old-style movie-star mustache, who is characterized in José Rivera's screenplay mostly by a venal horniness, until he awakens to his friend's spiritual superiority.

So pat is the sidekick-and-star interplay that by the end of the film, Granado is reduced to standing at a distance from Guevara, applauding in moist-eyed muteness as the hero speechifies. But even that isn't enough for Salles and Rivera. Immediately after this scene, the filmmakers plunge Guevara into the Amazon, so he can swim across the river to the cheers of Granado and a chorus of adoring lepers. Salles somehow forgot to give Guevara a dog to rescue on the way over, but that's the only shtick he neglected. Over the course of the film he delivers the cute Indian boy, the good-natured hooker, the snobbish Euro-Latins and not one but two women bravely suffering disease.

"But the film is so beautiful," say Salles's fans. No—it's pretty. Eric Gautier photographed it, with frequent and unnecessary use of the wan light and monochromatic effects that are now high-fashion clichés of their own. With this much sense of visual discovery, *The Motorcycle Diaries* could spawn a glossy magazine: *Condé-Nast Revolution*.

I'll let you in on a secret: Just as Dr. King was more than a fat man with a dream, Che was more than a longhair motivated by feelings of great love. He devoted much of his adult life to activities of the kill-or-be-killed variety. That, of course, is something that a culture of liberal self-congratulation would prefer not to contemplate. We'd rather get the T-shirt Che, only prettier. We don't know exactly what he'll do after *The Motorcycle Diaries*, but he sure is going to be famous.

Farther down the road to Jaglomdom tritzes James Toback. In his new picture, the would-be sex-and-revenge thriller *When Will I Be Loved*, the writer-director shows up in person to act out his fascination with his star, Neve Campbell. It's an exercise in confession and self-absolution, in which Toback (thinly disguised as a Columbia University professor) interviews the actress, has her own up to her sexual allure and then says he thought of hiring her because he fantasized, just a little, about getting her into bed. If you think this is more information than you needed, you may also feel that Toback should have dispensed with a few random cameos, which interrupt the proceedings only to prove that he knows Mike Tyson, Damon Dash and Lori Singer. Other Jaglomish self-indulgences that must be endured before the main event include scattered observations about architects (including Mies, mispronounced), musicians (principally Glenn Gould) and the subject matter of previous James Toback movies.

And so to the story:

It is a variation, as one character baldly admits, on the premise of *Indecent Proposal*. Rich-girl Vera (Campbell) has been keeping company with a pinch-faced young hustler (Frederick Weller), and he in turn has been buzzing around the fabulously wealthy Italian media mogul Count Tommaso Lupo (Dominic Chianese). When the hustler suggests that old Tommaso would pay well for a night of love—the topic arises, not quite smoothly, after a doggie-style interlude on Vera's crimson sofa—young Ms. Sex Magnet says only, "Set it up." The rest is negotiation: financial, emotional and (at last) police procedural.

According to a canned interview with Toback, part of his reason for wanting to realize this story was his "very intense curiosity" about Neve Campbell. "I always felt that there was a great deal of range and ability she had that had not been shown in any of the movies I'd seen her in." Apparently, then, he missed *Wild Things*, in which she played a scheming piece of sex-bait much like Vera, only poor. Those of us who caught that movie (a delightfully sleazy picture, unencumbered by architects or Glenn Gould) may welcome Campbell's performance here—the sudden unaffected smile, so knowingly put on; the slyly underplayed verbal thrusts; the catlike gaze—but won't mistake it for anything new.

Is it any longer possible, though, for a *femme fatale* to seem new? Can she even be *fatale*? Take a quick side trip through Mira Nair's version of *Vanity Fair*, and you may wonder if women's wiles are now as unimaginable to the liberal mind as a smoking gun in Che's hand. That this *Vanity Fair* is meant to be liberal, or even leftish, is beyond doubt, since its main achievement is to bring colonialism from the background of Thackeray's novel to the foreground of the movie. As others have observed by now, the India trade is now visible everywhere, in small details and large. Many critics have credited this change to the influence of Edward Said—so I hope he won't also be

EVENTS

FLORIDA

Conference on Global Philanthropy

■ "Global Policy, Grassroots Change" is Grantmakers Without Borders' annual conference on global social justice philanthropy. Open to individuals and institutions with a strong financial commitment to justice, the conference will explore US and International Financial Institution policies in the developing world, how grassroots communities are responding and strategic donor support. The "war on terror," extractive industries and climate change are among the topics to be addressed. October 14–16. Contact www.gwob.net or (617) 794-2253.

NEW YORK

Fall 2004 Gala

■ Gala to celebrate seventeen years of support by New Yorkers for the people of Tipitapa, Nicaragua. Featuring Michael Ratner, Center for Constitutional Rights; Barbara Briggs, National Labor Committee; Kathy Engel, poet. At the home of Arthur Levine and Linda Fentiman on the Teachers College campus; 503 W. 120 Street. Sunday, September 26, 5 PM. RSVP to: Dena Fisher, executive director Dos Pueblos: NY-Tipitapa Sister City Project, 2565 Broadway, #173, New York, NY 10025 (646) 610-2215, dwf@tipitapa.org or www.tipitapa.org.

UTAH

Drug Policy Alliance

■ Ethan Nadelmann, executive director, Drug Policy Alliance, to speak for the Harm Reduction & Public Health Association at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, October 7; 7 PM, Francis Armstrong Madsen Building, 1655 E. Campus Center Dr. (380 S). Information: www.ustudents.net/hrph/events.htm or call (801) 355-0234, x2.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Now at the lowest price ever of $49.95!**

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room and pays for itself!

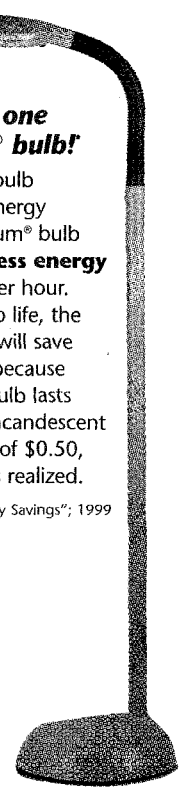
The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with an energy savings of $51 over the life of one bulb!

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

SAVE $51 in energy cost over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!*

A 150 watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 5,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$46** in energy cost. *Plus*, because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

*Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999



Height as shown: 50"

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts ten times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

"I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair...I don't get sore eyes like I used to."

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp now at it's lowest price of less than $50! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your house at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp
Item# ZL-3589 . . . . . **was ~~$59.95~~**
*Save $10 with mail-in rebate
Only $49.95 + S&H after rebate
***Please mention promotional code** 28751.*

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

866-237-2688

To order by mail, please call for details

www.balancedspectrum.com

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST
Formerly TechnoScout®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

38836

All rights reserved. © 2004 *first*STREET, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blamed for certain other features of *Vanity Fair*: the expository longueurs, the fitful pace (aggravated by Nair's unwillingness to cut on action) and, worst of all, a Becky Sharp who is just too darn nice. My experience of Said suggests he might have admired Reese Witherspoon's person in the leading role but not her character's inability to toy with men, except in a doomed, what-can-I-lose manner. Back in the old days, when Miriam Hopkins was playing her, Becky made plans to *win*.

So did Neve Campbell, for that matter, back in the old days of *Wild Things*—1998!—when she and the audience got some nasty fun out of her plotting. Her sexual power in that movie was something for her to experience and use. Now, in *When Will I Be Loved*, it's good only as a subject for Toback to contemplate and discuss. Like the Che Guevara of *The Motorcycle Diaries*, Vera has a personal force that is posited, not felt, as a feature of her stardom and a memory of other, better movies.

But at least Walter Salles has the virtue of respecting his elders. Toback congratulates his own filmmaking at every moment, even giving Vera's hustler boyfriend the name of Ford Welles.

Poor Ford. Poor Welles.

The Pleasures of Home: Several readers have asked me to post guidance toward video sources, since many of the films I mention in this column get only a limited theatrical release. So: My favorite supplier, for rental or purchase, is Facets Multimedia in Chicago (www.facets.org). In general, if a film is available at all on video, you can get it from Facets—which means that *El Viaje* is out of reach, but Solanas's *La Nube* can be had. ■

COMMENT
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 22)

ities around the country. It would also have required them, where "practicable," to use inherently safer technologies and thus reduce the dangerous chemicals onsite. Corzine's bill sailed through the Environment and Public Works Committee, at first. But then the American Chemistry Council (ACC) got involved, charging that the bill would lead to "government micromanagement." Fearful of the agency's tough reputation, it also opposed giving the EPA authority to oversee security efforts. And it insisted that its self-imposed safety code was adequate, although it was voluntary and barely covered 1,000 plants.

By early September 2002 six key GOP senators—Kit Bond, Mike Crapo, James Inhofe, Bob Smith, Arlen Specter and George Voinovich—had publicly changed their minds about the bill they had earlier voted for in committee, claiming it could "hurt our nation." They were joined by senators George Allen and Richard Shelby. These eight Republicans are among the top lifetime recipients of chemical-industry cash. Chemical industry contributions soared in October 2002, just as Congressional allies were preventing Corzine's proposal from being added to pending legislation creating the Department of Homeland Security. "My bill was crushed by the American Chemistry Council," Corzine says. (George W. Bush has done mighty well by the chemical industry, by the way. Ten people connected to it were "Pioneer" donors in 2000. One, Frederick Webber, was then the president of the ACC. The industry has made Bush its number-one recipient of campaign largesse, giving him around $1.2 million since 1999.)

The killing of the Corzine bill should haunt anyone familiar with how the airline industry stymied efforts to toughen airport security practices in the late 1990s, insisting that self-regulation was best. After TWA Flight 800 crashed in 1996, President Clinton promised to toughen security measures, declaring that all flights entering or leaving the United States would be searched before takeoff. A commission chaired by Vice President Gore called on the Federal Aviation Administration to stop allowing airlines to hire baggage-screening companies based solely on who was the lowest bidder, insisted on criminal background checks for airport employees in secure areas and proposed that all bags be matched to passengers. But the airline lobby blocked the changes. Even now, air-safety measures are being watered down to appease the airline lobby. A provision of the 2003 aviation reauthorization bill mandating security training for flight attendants was deleted in conference by Representative Tom DeLay, at the industry's behest.

The 9/11 Commission's final report makes no mention of the need for comprehensive campaign finance reform.

MICAH L. SIFRY AND NANCY WATZMAN

Micah L. Sifry and Nancy Watzman are the authors of the just-published Is That a Politician in Your Pocket? Washington on $2 Million a Day, *from which this article is adapted. They are, respectively, senior analyst and research and investigative projects director at Public Campaign.*

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ART

AMERICANFUNDAMENTALISTS.COM. Monumental 8' x 14' painting (after Ensor) depicts 200+ contemporary American extremists. Host a showing/seminar; posters $10.

BOOKLETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET DECIPHERS NT CODES, incontrovertibly proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. $10. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (details, SASE).

GLOBAL WARMING IS KILLING FORESTS HERE AND NOW. For an executive summary, send $5.00 to: The Forest Keeper, P.O. Box 1519, Yucaipa, CA 92399

BOOKS

STAY IN TOUCH WITH CUBA—PEX, importing and selling Cuban cultural products in the United States since 1989. Books, magazines, CDs, videos and more. 1-888-458-CUBA or www.pexstore.com.

THE BOOK KING GEORGE didn't want published. *The Gladiators Wore Blue* by Stephen Uman. (888) 795-4274 ext. 276 www.xlibris.com/TheGladiatorsWoreBlue.html.

PREVIEW POST-BUSHITE-ERA BOOKS. *Progressive editors,* publishers and readers, help rebuild America. Get the online books now that can make waves and move minds in bookstores tomorrow. www.unquietrevolutionarypress.com.

PEACE ON EARTH—IS IT POSSIBLE? Often ONLY if religion has NO influence on politics. KEEP THEM SEPARATED! Author's critical look at religion vs. science and common sense. 370 pages. $23.50. Contact ahklaus@yahoo.com. Phone/fax: (905) 641-2603. Box 2167, Niagara Falls, NY 14301.

CHIROPRACTOR

DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR. Applied kinesiologist, manipulation, muscle-balancing, organ energy, cranial, sacral & acu-point work. One-hour sessions. (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoriarepetto.meta-ehealth.com.

CONSULTING

"IF YOU KEEP DOING WHAT YOU'RE DOING, you'll keep getting what you're getting" (Les Brown): www.theaddededge.com.

COUNSELING

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: Treat depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists and academics. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

FUNDRAISING

FUNDRAISING FOR YOUR CLUB OR ORGANIZATION www.moreextraincome.com or www.moreinfo247.com/8714948/free.

GET OUT THE VOTE

WWW.TERRYNEAL.COM. As goes Tampa, so goes the nation.

GOURMET FOOD

VEGETARIAN MEAL DELIVERY SERVICE—Manhattan to New Paltz, New York. Healthy, heartbreakingly delicious meals prepared by a professional, political chef. (845) 255-8VEG or www.lagustasluscious.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

LIBERAL LIAISONS

Concerned Singles links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

ARE YOU A UNIQUE LOVER? Give the gift of custom erotica; the returns will keep coming. enyabouche@yahoo.com.

THE RIGHT STUFF: Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, UCB, University of Chicago, Northwestern and others. More than 4,000 members. See www.rightstuffdating.com, (800) 988-5288.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

WWW.HIPPIEPERSONALS.COM. Make love not war. Free registration. Free personals ad search. Progressive peaceniks online dating!

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com

RETIRED POLITICAL ACTIVIST and environmentalist looking for like-minded female. Companionship, accompaniment and more. Reply Nation Box 403, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

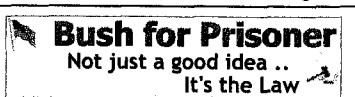
DECOMPRESSION FOR THE DEMOCRAT!™ SeeYaGeorge.com. Outrageous Political Shopping for Your Progressive State of Mind!

WWW.READTHESELIPS.COM bumper stickers (removable) for the thinking progressive. Let the world read YOUR lips.

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at http://shop.thenation.com and exercise subtle and not so subtle dissent. Great gifts (prices on some items now reduced).

UnSeatBUSH.com. Assorted affordable bumper stickers! Excellent nonprofit fundraisers. Spread visible resistance/awareness! (619) 226-1116.

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org: Friends Committee on National Legislation.



HARKEN ENERGY, CONSTITUTIONAL VANDALISM, Illegal Invasion, Abu Ghraib. He's a criminal. Bumper sticker at www.bushforprisoner.com.

FORMER PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON SAYS, "The Election 2004 deck of cards is hilarious." www.election2004cards.com. Only $7.

MY CHILD IS AN HONOR STUDENT—BUT MY PRESIDENT IS A MORON bumpersticker plus cool t-shirts at: www.topplebush.com.

MERCHANDISE

ENVIRONMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE GREETING CARDS. Inspiring photography and colorful artwork. www.recycledgreetingcards.com.

ANTIWAR/PROGRESSIVE BUMPER STICKERS, buttons. Also custom orders, including stickers, postcards, signs, promotional items. Discounts for organizers. Union made. (800) 632-9932, www.newsolidarity.com.

WWW.CAFEPRESS.COM/STOPBULLSHIT T-shirts, buttons, hats, postcards, mugs, magnets, mousepads, bumper stickers and other STOP BUSH gifts.

YARD SIGNS. 2000+ in Ithaca; 1000s through local groups in 14+ states. Join us. www.bushmustgo.net.

MUSIC

THE PATRIOT ACT (*a k a* The Known Unknowns). Revolutionary music, www.the-patriot-act.org. *Give me liberty or give me death!*—Patrick Henry, 1775.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR: See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITION AVAILABLE

***THE NATION* SEEKS AN EXPERIENCED PRODUCTION DIRECTOR.** Position will be responsible for production and basic design of weekly magazine and other printed materials, budgeting, management of work flow and weekly production of the magazine's website. Candidate should have in-depth knowledge of current desktop publishing technology (QuarkXPress, QPS, Photoshop, Illustrator, Acrobat). Adobe InDesign and HTML experience a plus. We're looking for a highly motivated, energetic professional with 8+ years of print production/management experience, including strong knowledge of prepress, offset web press and finishing capabilities/limitations. Director will create production technology migration strategy and budget, and manage 2005 software migration. Ability to work well with a wide array of people and departments and a strict adherence to deadlines essential. In addition to competitive salary, we offer generous benefits and an excellent work atmosphere. Equal opportunity employer, people of color and other minorities strongly encouraged to apply. E-mail résumé to: jobprod@thenation.com or mail to: The Nation, Production Director Search, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 or fax to (212) 982-7193.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, PhD, 25 years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

NEW YORK THERAPIST: 20 years' clinical and university-based experience. Separation and divorced parenting; divorced fathers. Also provide supervision for licensing for CSW social workers. Individual, family and group. Bill Dineen, LCSW, (917) 566-4785.

PUBLISHER

NONFICTION MANUSCRIPTS WANTED: Top royalties, major distribution: Brown Walker Press, www.BrownWalker.com.

RADIO

RADIONATION is currently aired on more than 90 public stations in the United States and Canada. For a full listing and other information, write RadioNation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® Seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Town & Ranch (800) 418-1221 x 171 or pkahn@keshi.com.

BEAUTIFUL ROOM. Bath, on high floor, upper East Side NY. Transportation. Rent by month or week. (212) 427-7658

SCHOOL VOLUNTEER

LONGTIME MOVEMENT PERSON and experienced teacher looking to volunteer in elementary classroom. DonMcKelvey@earthlink.net for info and references.

TAXATION

CAPITALISM? SOCIALISM? FREEDOM VS. JUSTICE? Prosperity vs. sustainability? Learn about the third way: www.singletax.org.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation*, page 28, www.globalexchange.org.

WEBSITES

HILARIOUS, BITING satirical letters to Bush, Cheney, Condi, Mel Gibson et al. Regular updates. www.paulchasman.com.

THE REAL DEAL? Untouched by the Carlyle Group, Halliburton, Bechtel, White House, House of Bush and House of Saud. Straightforward talk at the independent, Washington, DC–based, WWW.SAUDIPOLITICS.COM.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $45/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 27 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for __ insertions at $_____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

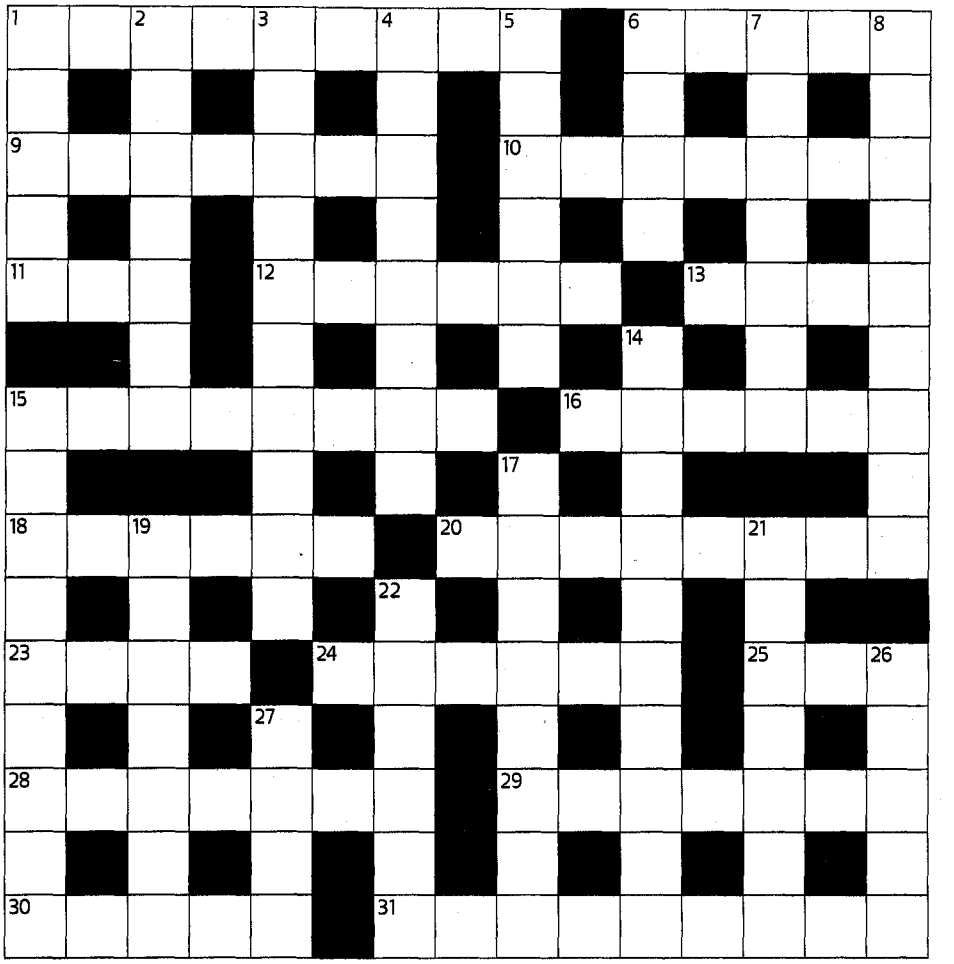
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department,
33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2956

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 6 and **13** Belonging to it, one might expect a lot of leaves in April or May, for instance. (4-2-3-5,4)

9 Sing out, possibly, with joy when you go on them…(7)

10 …and pipes out, little brother taking it on the chin, in a way. (7)

11 and **25** An angry comeback, to put the question concerning what the napery might be made of. (6)

12 Naïve, perhaps, to a point—Sigmund's home. (6)

13 See 1 across

15 Implies I am only human—or otherwise! (8)

16 Rub the wrong way, providing something to drink in Paris—though an official organization might be responsible. (6)

18 Possibly one tug and it's stuck out by the mocker. (6)

20 What may happen after the 5 when it happens in the tub. (8)

23 Urges part of the breakfast to be provided here. (4)

24 One who says it didn't happen, showing that the hose might be fine with it. (6)

25 See 11

28 Involves something when it leans a bit crookedly. (7)

29 One hears he might put on a coat of gold, just for money! (7)

30 and **31** Excellent B-27s or Concordes—or just small versions of them. (5,9)

DOWN

1 and **15** With a wide smile—as the fat lady might be, according to the sailor. (5,2,3,4)

2 The best one can expect from a stirred pot, when I at last get silent. (7)

3 Consuming everything, moves in our settlement. (10)

4 Tile pieces are set up with points—inside and out! (8)

5 To exist, rising above the old crooner, might be going with the flow. (6)

6 The discussions might be over a large number also on the uptake. (4)

7 An enclosed part of the airplane can make it up, as she found in Paris. (7)

8 What the artist uses to soften something that might make the parting easier starts with a head. (9)

14 What a golfer doesn't want to get into, with a tee being a very small one, which is a real battle! (6,4)

15 See 1 down

17 Mother gets to hang around and just pretend to work. (8)

19 Not a proper agent for the little magazine personel to have denied. (7)

21 He is noted for his opening address, proving a young man is above a lot of noise. (7)

22 His age is uncertain, but one might serve the tea in Tokyo. (6)

26 These people might suggest one of things Miss Muffet liked. (5)

27 Supposedly a way is always found with it, as a way to pass on things. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2955

	I	N	T	H	E	S	A	M	E	V	E	I	N	
P		E		O		C		A		I		D		A
A	S	T	E	R		H	A	L	L	O	W	E	E	N
R		T		S		O		L		L		E		A
S	K	E	L	E	T	O	N	S		A	W	F	U	L
E		D		S		L						I		Y
			C	H	A	T	T	E	R	B	O	X	E	S
M		C		O		I		L		A		E		T
A	C	H	I	E	V	E	M	E	N	T	S			
D		A						M		H		B		O
C	A	R	O	B		P	R	E	S	S	U	R	E	S
A		I		A		R		N		H		O		I
P	U	S	S	Y	F	O	O	T		E	A	G	L	E
S		M		O		E		A		B		U		R
	V	A	C	U	U	M	C	L	E	A	N	E	R	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discovered: The First United States Silver Dollar

Coin Collector's Hunch Nets Silver Dollar Worth $10 Million!

Dana Point, CA. Call it a hunch, but when Steve Contursi got his first look at a silver dollar dated 1794 he *knew* deep down in his gut that he had something unique. A long-time coin collector, Contursi had spent his entire life studying coins. So when he saw the incredible detail and sharp designs of Miss Liberty with her finely detailed flowing hair, it dawned on him that this coin was extraordinary. The more he studied it, the more convinced he became that the coin staring him in the face was more—*much more*—than simply a 210-year-old coin.

Shown larger than actual size of 39 mm

Experts Agree: First Recorded Coin Minted in 1794

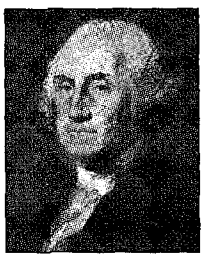
When professional numismatists compared the coin side-by-side with a 1794 copper trial piece at the Smithsonian they ALL came to the same conclusion: *this must be a priceless national treasure—the* ***FIRST*** *silver dollar ever struck by the U.S. Mint!*

First U.S. Silver Dollar Valued at $10 Million

Confirmation of the historic significance of the find sent Contursi's head spinning. It was as if he had just been told he had the winning lottery ticket! He soon had the coin insured for **TEN MILLION DOLLARS** making it one of the world's most valuable coins—and making his hunch one of the most lucrative gut feelings of all-time!

How George Washington's Tea Set Ended Up as the First Silver Dollar

The story of how this coin came to be is no less amazing than its discovery. Following the Revolutionary War, our Founding Fathers turned their attention to the task of establishing a new government complete with its own currency system based on the dollar. Thanks to a shortage of precious metals, the new U.S. Mint announced it would accept silver from citizens for the purpose of striking coins. People could bring their silver to the Mint and receive silver coins in return. As a show of confidence in both the mint and the new nation, George Washington donated his wife's ornate silver set to begin the process of making our first silver coins. In this way, George Washington became not only the father of our country, but also the father of our coinage!



One-of-a-Kind Coin Now Available as a Silver Proof

This is the ***first-ever*** *public release of this special Proof and it has been beautifully struck in 99.9% pure silver.* With frosted images and deep mirrored fields, this is more than a commemorative, it's a breathtaking work of art in silver!

Special Discount for Advance Orders

This special silver Proof carries an official issue price of $60.00, but during this special advance period, you may reserve your own .999 Pure Silver Proof for just $39.50 plus S&H *(Save $20.00 by Ordering Today).* A signed Certificate of Authenticity will attest to the history, specifications and Limited Edition status of this exclusive private mintage. Your 1794 First Silver Dollar Commemorative Proof will come in a clear acrylic holder housed in a deluxe presentation case. **Your order must be placed during this advance issue period to qualify for the special $39.50 price** You must be 100% satisfied or simply return it within 30 days for a prompt refund of your purchase price.

Price Guarantee. Prices are guaranteed during the advance issue period regardless of any increase in the market price of silver bullion.

Specifications for the 1794 First Silver Dollar Commemorative

Obverse:	**"Flowing Hair" Liberty**
Reverse:	**Eagle and Laurel Wreath**
Designer:	**Robert Scot**
Content:	**Pure Silver (.999)**
Weight:	**27 grams**
Condition:	**Gem Proof**
Edition:	**Limited**

Order Several and SAVE

1794 First Silver Dollar Commemorative Proof
~~**$60.00**~~ **$39.50 each +S&H**

Three 1794 First Silver Dollar Proofs $35.80 each +S&H
SAVE $20.00

TOLL-FREE 24 HOURS A DAY

1-800-721-0297

Promotional Code FSD103-03

Please mention Promotional Code when you call.

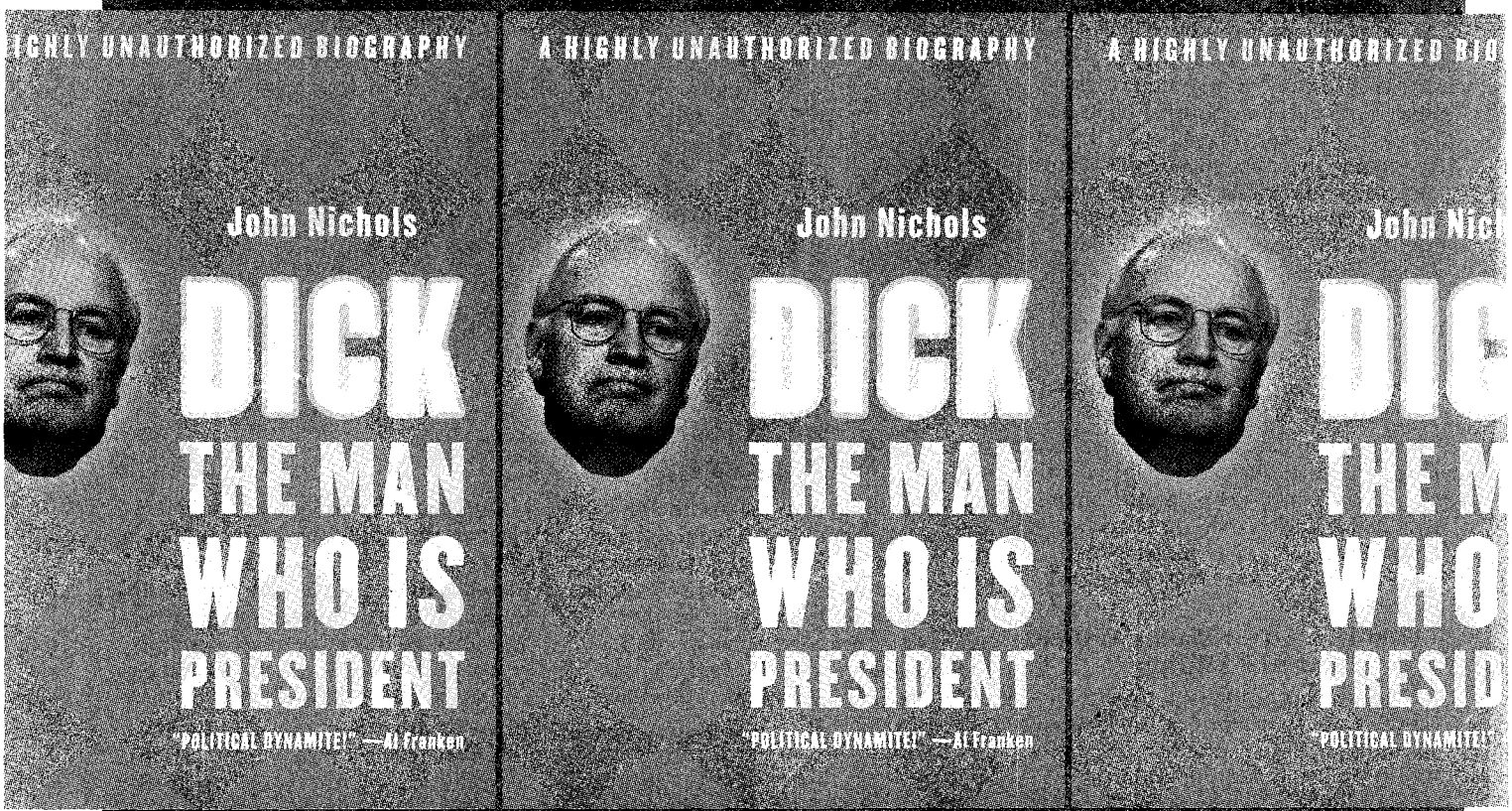
We can also accept your check by phone.
To order by mail call for details.

FIRST FEDERAL MINT
14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. FSD103-03
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

Note: The First Federal Mint, LLC is a private distributor of government and private coin and medallic issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THERE ARE MANY BOOKS ON GEORGE W. BUSH . . . BUT ONLY ONE ON THE MAN RUNNING THE COUNTRY.



"THE FIRST FULL PORTRAIT OF THE MOST POWERFUL NUMBER TWO IN HISTORY, A SCARY AND APPALLING PICTURE."
–ARIANNA HUFFINGTON

"THIS PAGE-TURNER CLOSES THE CASE: CHENEY *IS* OUR DE FACTO PRESIDENT." –JOHN W. DEAN

HARDCOVER, $23.95, 256 PAGES
WWW.DICKTHEBOOK.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED